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This Is Israel

THIS IS ISRAEL

Palestine: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

by

THEODORE HUEBENER, PH.D.,

*Director of Foreign Languages
in the Schools of the City of New York
Lecturer, New York University*

and

CARL HERMANN VOSS, PH.D.,

*Chairman, Executive Council,
American Christian Palestine Committee
Lecturer, New School for Social Research*



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Preface

IN writing this book the authors have attempted to present a colorful but accurate picture of the emergence of Israel out of its Palestinian background.

Beginning with the migration of Abraham to Canaan, the career of the Jews throughout history is briefly traced, the main emphasis being placed on Zionist aspirations and their final fulfillment in 1948.

After presenting the historical development of Israel, a description is given of the major achievements and the more significant institutions of the new state.

The serious problems facing the young republic are pointed out and possible solutions are suggested. With reference to all controversial issues—and there are, unfortunately, many—the authors have attempted to examine the facts in a spirit of fairness and sympathetic understanding. An interpretation acceptable to all is practically impossible, since a number of the differences are obviously irreconcilable.

In an effort to be as impartial as possible, the authors called upon a considerable number of scholars and writers—both Jewish and Christian—to read the manuscript. Of those who so generously gave of their time and thought, special mention should be made of the following: Dr. J. Coert Rylaarsdam and Dr. James Luther Adams of the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago; Dr. Guy Davis of Chapman College, Orange, California;

Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, rabbi of Temple Rodeph Shalom, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Dr. Judd L. Teller, author of *Scapegoat of Revolution*; and Mr. Gerold Frank, author and journalist.

Both authors have made intensive study tours of the Middle East, have spoken personally with many leading figures in the area, and have read widely in the literature on the subject. Aside from the wealth of facts contained in the following pages, it is hoped that the book will deepen the reader's appreciation of the centuries of anguish that led to the establishment of Israel and of the unique contribution of that brave little state to human worth and dignity.

T. H.

C. H. V.

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I

Ancient Israel

1. *The Patriarchs*

"Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house unto a land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation; and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing . . ."

WITH these words, ostensibly coming from the very mouth of God, the author of *Genesis* 12:1 bestows an aura of divine sanction upon the migration of the patriarch Abraham to the land of Canaan.

Abraham is one of the most fascinating figures in Hebrew folklore. The colorful account of his exploits, set down centuries later, has undeniable literary charm. It records that, perhaps as early as 1800 years before the Christian era, Abraham and his household left Ur, a Persian Gulf city in southern Babylonia, and, traveling northwest through the "Fertile Crescent," reached Haran in upper Mesopotamia, some five hundred miles away. After a brief stay, these roving Bedouins—for such they really were—continued west and south in search of the "promised land," arriving finally in the Plain of Moreh in the land of Canaan. Near a site, which in later centuries was to be named Shechem, Abraham, the intrepid nomad chieftain, and his clan pitched their tents, pastured their herds of sheep and cattle, and erected a primitive altar to their tribal god.

The country into which these strange wanderers came had witnessed migration after migration of various peoples. Still more were to follow. About 3500 B.C. the tall, Semitic Amorites had moved

out of the desert into the highlands along the fertile coast. A thousand years later, two other Semitic peoples came in to the area, the Phoenicians and the Canaanites. The Phoenicians settled on the coastal plain west of Mt. Lebanon and founded Byblos, Tyre and Sidon. The Canaanites established themselves in the lowlands between the Leontes River on the north to the Negev Desert on the south. From the second of these two peoples the land derived its early name, Canaan.

The Canaanites whom Abraham and his followers encountered were an advanced people. They maintained prosperous farms, lived in fortified cities and had well-established independent local governments. They accepted the newcomers only as tolerated strangers. On occasion, when disputes arose, it was necessary for the nomads to flee from the wrath of the native population.

Another people who came to Canaan in early times—probably less than 500 years after the arrival of the Canaanites—were the Hittites. Little is known of these invaders from the north. An interesting confirmation of their presence, however transitional it may have been, is found in *Genesis* 23 where we are told that Abraham purchased a burial field from a Hittite. The legendary character of the narrative need not discount the fact of quite amicable relations between the Hittite selling the land and the nomadic patriarch buying it.

It is doubtless correct to consider Abraham an Aramean, a precursor of the wider Aramean migration which was to follow, and thus rightly the forefather of the Hebrew people. The story of Sarah and Hagar, who bore Abraham's sons Isaac and Ishmael, respectively, may be regarded as an effort to explain the descent of Hebrews and Bedouins from a common ancestor. So, too, may the description of the twelve sons of Jacob as progenitors of the twelve tribes of Israel be accepted as an earnest endeavor by later Hebrew writers to formalize their national origins.

2. *The Hebrews and the Philistines*

The larger Aramean migration into Canaan began about the middle of the second millennium B.C. and continued intermittently for perhaps 300 years. Around 1200 B.C. this invasion was joined apparently by descendants of the patriarchs who had lived for

generations in the Nile Delta, and who, under Moses, had escaped Egyptian persecution. How this composite group came to be called *Hebrew* is uncertain. Tradition has it that the name stems from the Biblical "Eber," a relatively unimportant figure who is mentioned in *Genesis* 10:21. Recent archeological finds, however, suggest that it may be derived from the Egyptian word, "Habiru," i.e., "those who cross over,"—in this instance those who crossed over the Jordan River. The Hebrew equivalent is *ivri*.

At the same time, another and more formidable invader arrived. The Philistines, non-Semites from the island of Crete, settled along the southern coastal plain and founded Gaza, Ashkelon and Ashdod. Like the Canaanites, they had an advanced culture and possessed metal weapons and chariots. One of the most exciting stories in the Bible pictures the Philistine giant, Goliath, dressed in a coat of mail and brandishing a heavy iron spear, advancing upon the Hebrew shepherd lad, David, who has chosen to arm himself with only a sling.

It was Philistine control of much of Canaan that gave that land its name—*Palestine*.

3. *Moses and the Exodus*

We have spoken of the escape of Abraham's descendants from Egypt. Why they went there and how they ultimately returned to Canaan is of more than passing interest.

Their migration seems to have been caused by a widespread famine about the fifteenth century B.C., which drove them to Egypt, where lands suitable for the support of their herds were available. The well-known story of Joseph (*Genesis* 37-50) is a Hebrew folk-tale which graphically describes this movement.

These "Hebrews" who entered Egypt settled in the land of Goshen in the Nile Delta. After generations of peaceful existence they were enslaved by an overly zealous pharaoh, probably Ramses II. After Ramses' death, they were led out of bondage by Moses. Their deliverance from Egypt, *the Exodus*, was regarded in later Hebrew thought as an event of primary religious significance.

Thereafter, they wandered for forty years in the desert wastes near the Red Sea, undergoing severe deprivations. During this period, Moses' great personality as an intrepid, heroic leader asserted

itself. The book of *Exodus* relates how he unified his followers, maintained their courage, and directed their thinking to important religious and ethical concepts. It was Moses who first codified Hebrew laws. Fragments of the Mosaic Code were later embodied into the Pentateuch. Through his persuasion the "children of Israel" adopted Yahweh (Jehovah), who gave Moses the Ten Commandments on Mt. Sinai, as their god. Just as they had chosen Yahweh, so, they believed, He had chosen them as His special people.

Thus the Hebrews moved, at least in theory, from *polytheism*, the worship of many gods, to *henotheism*, the belief that they, as a people, possessed a god who was theirs alone, in a universe where other gods existed. This was a long step forward on the road to complete *monotheism*.

Not all of Moses' followers appreciated the higher ideals established for them. Many resented the hardships of desert life and longed for the comparative comforts of Egypt. Even as their stern leader "confronted God directly" atop Mt. Sinai, some of the less reliable among them, encouraged by Moses' brother Aaron, danced gayly around the idol of the golden calf, symbol of the Egyptian Apis cult. Upon his descent from the mountain, Moses dealt summarily with the unfaithful by putting them to the sword. Despite his great contributions, Moses himself was never to enter the "promised land." Having viewed Canaan from Mt. Nebo, he died and was buried east of the Salt Sea in Moab, ". . . over against Bethpeor, but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."

4. *The Conquest and the Kingdom*

Moses' successor, the doughty warrior Joshua, led his forces across the Jordan to besiege and capture Jericho and other Canaanite strongholds. He was a skilful leader. The invasion he began was continued by others through more than a century of bloody warfare. The Hebrews streamed into the land and settled it, driving out or subjugating the natives.

The Hebrew tribes had no central political authority and were separated from each other by geographic barriers and clan loyalties. Local leaders called "judges" arose in times of crisis. Among these were Gideon and Samson who achieved renown in the face of threats from Midianites and Philistines. The writer of the *Book of*

Judges aptly sums up the political situation of the period by observing that "in those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes." (*Judges* 21:25)

Religious conflict was inevitable in that the religion of the Canaanites and other conquered peoples was essentially a form of "Baalism." Some of the Judges accepted the worship of Baal and Ashtarte (Baal's goddess-consort) while others continued to worship Yahweh—a controversy that was not to reach final solution for five hundred years.

The last important Judge was Samuel, a devout and influential priest. Due to continuing military defeats and the insistence of his colleagues who sought protection in an organized state, Samuel anointed a tall, young soldier, Saul, to be the first king of the Hebrews.

5. The Monarchy: Saul, David and Solomon

The united kingdom of Israel, thus established, survived less than two centuries, embracing the reigns of Saul, David and Solomon.

Saul both succeeded and failed. He justified the concept of kingship by winning over lesser foes, but his victory over the Philistines was temporary. He united some of the tribes and extended the national boundaries, but alienated the priests of Yahweh, the brilliant warrior David, and the tribe of Judah. His last years witnessed a sad decline, both personally and in his role as king. After the Philistines had won the bloody battle of Mt. Gilboa, he took his own life in despair.

Samuel, dissatisfied with Saul, had meanwhile anointed David, a young and popular warrior, as the second king. Extolled as the greatest of Hebrew rulers, David assumed the throne about 1000 B.C. Under his administration Israel attained its widest boundaries and its greatest security. David conquered the Philistines and confined them permanently to their coastal plain. After the land was united, he captured Jerusalem. It became not only the capital of the short-lived Hebrew monarchy, but for all time the Holy City of Judaism, and later for Christianity and Islam as well.

Under David the kingdom of Israel prospered. He made lasting contributions to Hebrew culture. To him are credited or dedicated

many lovely psalms, including the beautiful "shepherd psalm," *Psalms* 23, and the sensitive "Lament over Saul and Jonathan" found in II *Samuel* 1:19-27. During his reign Yahwist prophets had a free voice, even to criticize the king's conduct. Later Biblical writers saw in David—despite his apparent moral limitations—the prototype of the hoped-for Messiah.

Solomon, son of David and Bathsheba and third king of Israel, inherited a well-filled treasury and was able to indulge his extravagant tastes to the full. He built a sumptuous palace for himself; in addition he erected a magnificent temple to Yahweh on Mt. Moriah in Jerusalem. There the "Ark of the Covenant," an elaborately decorated container denoting the presence of Yahweh, was installed in an inner sanctuary between gold cherubim.

Despite his reputed wisdom, Solomon was soon corrupted by power. Like any Oriental despot, he gathered an immense harem of seven hundred wives (many from foreign nations, to whose gods he built temples), and three hundred concubines. He taxed the people heavily and inequitably, established a forced labor system, imported apes and peacocks to amuse the court, and traded Hebrews into slavery for race-horses. Even before his death, both his kingdom and his authority had begun a swift and fateful decline.

6. *Destruction of the Divided Kingdom*

When Solomon died, the kingdom was split by revolt into two parts: Israel, with Samaria as its capital, in the north; Judah, with its capital at Jerusalem, in the south,—a division that was to prove disastrous.

Struggles between Israel and Judah, wars with the neighboring kingdoms of Damascus and Moab, and raids and political pressures by Egyptian pharaohs marked the decades that followed. Religious strife blazed into open warfare. On Mt. Carmel the rugged Yahwist prophet Elijah won "a contest of miracles" and thereupon slaughtered nine hundred priests of Baal and Ashtarte, passing on to his successor Elisha an oath to destroy the crafty Baalist Queen Jezebel. Widespread social injustice and international intrigue set the stage for vigorous but usually unheeded protests by such prophets as Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah.

The northern Kingdom survived slightly more than two hundred years. Out of the east came the Assyrians, bent on world conquest. Besieged by Shalmaneser V, Samaria fell in 722 B.C., and more than 27,000 Israelites were carried into bondage and oblivion. In their place the Assyrians resettled captives from other parts of their empire and so provided a basis for the later conflict between Jews and "Samaritans." The dispersed inhabitants of the northern kingdom became "the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel."

Judah was not destroyed. Instead it became a vassal of Assyria. The century that followed saw continuing dispute over how the Judeans should deal with the Assyrians, and whether the Assyrian religion (the name *Assyrian* comes from the goddess Ashtarte) or Yahwism should prevail. In 621 B.C. a sweeping Yahwist reform was carried out by King Josiah, and the "Deuteronomic Code" was instituted. This represented a substantial ethical advance, but it was too late to save Judah.

Toward the end of the seventh century the Assyrians weakened and their place as a world power was taken by the Neo-Babylonians under Nebuchadrezzar. The fleeing Assyrians and Egyptians, to whom the Judeans had looked for help,—against the advice of the prophet Jeremiah—were defeated by the new conqueror at Carchemish in 605 B.C.

The end was in sight for Judah. In deepest sorrow but with high courage, Jeremiah declared the folly of resistance. His pleas were rejected by king and people, while "false prophets" insisted that the holy city of Jerusalem was inviolable. Three years after the turn of the sixth century, Nebuchadrezzar struck, deporting ten thousand leading citizens and establishing a pro-Chaldean kingship.

Again a dispute arose between those who wished to revolt and those, who, like Jeremiah, foresaw the consequences of insurrection. The prophet dramatically pointed out the futility of such an action, but the king was unmoved. Nebuchadrezzar descended upon Jerusalem. In 586 B.C. he captured the city, reducing it to rubble and carrying away most of the survivors into exile in Babylon. The worst that the prophets had predicted for the Holy City had happened. The Hebrew kingdoms, north and south, were no more.

7. The Hebrew Prophets

More important for later generations than the survival of the tiny Hebrew kingdom was the development of the prophetic element within its religion. The Hebrew prophets were dedicated spokesmen for Yahweh. In times of crisis they made their witness known and on such occasions acted as censors of national and personal conduct. When necessary they took part in politics.

The fearlessness with which they spoke even to kings testifies to their authority. The familiar instance wherein Nathan dared to condemn King David publicly for his sin with Bathsheba is a most graphic example. (II *Samuel*, ch. 11, 12)

The message of the prophets had a content to match their courage. Amos, the earliest literary prophet, affronted the people of Bethel, by denouncing their luxury and revelry. According to the *justice* of God, he said, their moral excesses and unconcern for the poor would lead to doom! His more gentle contemporary, Hosea, also warned the Israelites. He, however, emphasized the fact that God was a God of *love*, willing to forgive wicked and unfaithful Israel.

The ideal of universal peace is beautifully expressed in a quatrain by the prophet Micah:

And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks;
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.*

Most majestic of the prophets, Isaiah, pointed first to God's *holiness*, characterizing it as an ethical holiness that demands the best from men and nations. He also expressed his faith in the coming of a Messianic age of peace and harmony when he wrote:

The wolf shall dwell with the lamb
And the leopard shall lie down with the kid
And the calf and the lion and the fatling together,
And a little child shall lead them. (*Is.* 11:6.)

* This oft-quoted verse, *Micah* 4:3, is now engraved on the wall of the United Nations headquarters in New York City.

We have seen how Jeremiah made a valiant but unsuccessful effort to protect Jerusalem. Living in the time and circumstances that he did, it is small wonder that he has been described as "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." But even through suffering, he held fast to his faith in God's *everlasting love*, the restoration of Israel, and the coming of a new relationship of intimate understanding between God and man. It fell to Jeremiah and to his contemporary and successor, Ezekiel, to postulate "the doctrine of individual responsibility," i.e., that each person stands in God's sight as an individual rather than as a member of a family, nation or race, and is judged accordingly.

Of all the Hebrew prophets, the noblest is undoubtedly Second Isaiah, the great "Unknown Prophet" who, in exile in Babylon, wrote the concluding chapters of the *Book of Isaiah*. It was he who came first to that universal concept which the prophet Jeremiah almost but never quite attains—*monotheism*. There is but one God in all the universe. Yahweh is the Lord of Hosts!

Beyond that, Second Isaiah presents a most profound religious concept in the atoning figure of the suffering servant. The truly good are those who give themselves for others. The evil are redeemed through the suffering of the righteous. In the view of this sensitive interpreter, Israel in exile had assumed the tragic role of Yahweh's suffering servant. The Hebrew people are *chosen* people—chosen not for special privileges but for *service* to mankind. Through them is "a light to be given to the Gentiles"; through them is all the world to be redeemed.

The Hebrew prophets, men of highest spiritual endowment, came from every level of society. Their emphasis upon moral responsibility in private and public life, and their interpretation of God's ineffable mercy and justice comprise a valuable contribution to the whole of Western culture.*

8. *The Law*

Fortunately for the captive Jews, Chaldea survived barely fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. The Persian Empire, des-

* From this point forward, we shall, in accordance with custom, cease to speak of *Hebrews* and refer to *Jews*, the people of Judea.

tinued to rule the world of the Middle East and even Egypt for two centuries, supplanted it. The first great Persian monarch, Cyrus, reversed the policy of earlier conquerors and encouraged captive peoples to return to their homelands.

Shortly thereafter, about 536 B.C., the first "*Zionist movement*" in history occurred as a small band of Jews made the long journey to Jerusalem. Other groups followed at intervals for more than a hundred and fifty years. When the first pilgrims, led by Zerubbabel and the priest Joshua, reached the ruins of Jerusalem, they immediately set about the task of rebuilding the temple. Under the inspiration of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, enough work was completed to allow the dedication of the new shrine, the *Second Temple*, in 516 B.C.

But the Exile had effected considerable change in Judaism. In Babylon, where no central sanctuary for Jewish worship was available, the synagogue had come into being. This new way of worship offered simplicity, fellowship and religious immediacy; it eliminated the priestly caste. In Palestine the synagogue took its place alongside the temple worship it was one day destined to replace.

Even more significant was the increased reverence for the Jewish Law, the *Torah* or Pentateuch, the first five books of the Hebrew Bible. These reached their final form shortly after the Exile period, and were declared to be sacred and canonical when the scribe Ezra read the Torah in an official public service in Jerusalem. From this time forward, the Jews began to be referred to as "the people of the Book."

During the Exile, Jewish scholars encountered many bizarre concepts of the Chaldean and Persian religions. Despite their loyalty to Torah, they brought back ideas of Heaven and Hell; the god of darkness, Ahriman or Satan, as opposed to the god of light, Ahura-Mazda; and apocalyptic beliefs—vivid imagery concerning the imminent end of the world. These fell in easily with developing Jewish Messianic expectations and found their way into such writings as the Biblical books of *Daniel* and *Second Esdras* (the latter in the *Apocrypha*, i.e., "doubtful writings") and the non-canonical *Book of Enoch*. Some—but certainly not all—Jews of the centuries following the return to Jerusalem gave these unusual ideas serious attention.

Many Jews chose to remain in Babylon. Eventually it became a center of Jewish culture and scholarship.

9. Foreign Influences

Persian rule over Palestine was usually gentle and remote. It ended in 333 B.C. when the young Macedonian warrior, Alexander the Great, swept through Palestine and east as far as the Indus River. Alexander's conquest brought far-reaching changes. Commerce and travel increased rapidly. Greek and its culture spread everywhere.

The large Jewish colony which developed in Alexandria was deeply influenced by Hellenic thought and custom. Before a century had passed, the Jews of Egypt could no longer read Hebrew adequately and so a Greek version of the Hebrew scripture was written. This translation was called the *Septuagint*, from the legend that seventy scholars had produced it.

The Jews of Palestine reacted differently to Greek culture, and to the establishment of such Greek cities in and near their land as the Decapolis, a league of ten city-states in Peraea and northern Samaria. To remain unaffected by the freer Greek ways, dress, games and architecture became for them a crucial matter of religious conviction. Although some Jews were Hellenized, especially the wealthier ones, the populace as a whole remained loyal to the Torah.

After Alexander's death, the Egyptians and the Syrians fought over Palestine for more than a century. During this period, the land changed hands twenty-two times, with the Syrians finally winning unchallenged control. Defying the stubborn Jewish character of most of his Palestinian subjects, the Syrian king, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, undertook to force Greek culture upon them. He forbade Jewish rites and customs, set up an altar to Zeus in the temple, and ordered swine to be slain thereon. Violence was inevitable. In 167 B.C. the Jews revolted, led by Mattathias, the high priest, and his sons, in particular the courageous Judas Maccabeus. On December 25, 165, the temple was recovered and the services there reinstituted with great rejoicing. The festival of Hanukkah is celebrated in commemoration of this event. After Judas was killed in combat, his brothers carried on the struggle and within a

decade cleared the land of the Syrians and set up an independent Jewish state.

Jewish home rule, often turbulent and corrupt, continued for ninety years until 63 B.C., when the Roman general Pompey marched into Jerusalem to slaughter the priests and annex the area to the Roman Empire.

10. *The Romans in Palestine*

Under Roman control various quisling kings ruled Palestine. Best known and perhaps most capable of these was the infamous Herod the Great. His death in 4 B.C. resulted in the division of the kingdom among three sons. Of these, Herod Antipas received the rule of Galilee and Perea. It was he who executed the Jewish prophet, John the Baptist, and opposed the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. After 6 A.D., Roman procurators, one of whom was Pontius Pilate, governed Judea, and after 44 A.D., Roman officials, usually of a dishonest type, ruled all of Palestine.

During this period there was sharp competition between the two major religious parties of Palestinian Judaism, the Sadducees and the Pharisees. The *Sadducees* represented the ruling classes. They included the priests of the temple in Jerusalem, and sought to preserve the *status quo*. They encouraged cooperation with the Romans and held to a strict, literal interpretation of the Torah.

The *Pharisees*, on the other hand, were devout laymen who endeavored to purify Judaism. While they, too, were exacting legalists in regard to food and Sabbath laws, they allowed enough leeway in their interpretation of the Torah to accept belief in angels, the resurrection of the dead, life after death, the coming of the Kingdom of God, and various Messianic theories. Their position in regard to the Romans could have been described as "neutralist." Generally speaking, Pharisaic views were far more sensitive to spiritual and ethical values than those of the Sadducees, and rather more reasonable than the extreme cases cited in the New Testament record.

A third group requires mention because of the disaster it brought upon the Jews. These were the *Zealots*, a revolutionary political party which intended to drive the Romans from the land by force. Zealot strength was encouraged by Roman oppression. In 66 A.D.

the party precipitated war with Rome by killing the Roman soldiers stationed in Jerusalem and Caesarea. The Roman general Vespasian and his son, Titus, proceeded to Palestine from the north with a strong military force and set siege to the Holy City in the spring of 69. Their task was made less difficult by dissension between priests and Zealots. In the late autumn of 70, after a frightful massacre, Jerusalem fell to Titus, his father having returned to Rome to seek the imperial crown.

11. *Jesus of Nazareth*

Into this tension-filled cosmopolitan world of the first century was born Jesus of Nazareth. Eldest of seven children, he grew up in the humble surroundings of a Galilean carpenter shop. As a young man he was baptized in the Jordan River by the revered ascetic prophet, John the Baptist. When John was arrested by Herod Antipas, Jesus came into Galilee preaching with urgency that the Kingdom of God was at hand and that men must repent. Choosing a small group of fishermen and a tax collector to assist him, he began an itinerant preaching mission throughout the towns and villages around the Sea of Galilee, maintaining his headquarters at Capernaum.

Jesus was more than a preacher. He was also a singularly effective teacher with a simple, yet rich and penetrating ethical message in the tradition of the great prophets of Israel. He spoke clearly—and with authority—of the love and mercy of God and of the intrinsic personal worth of the humblest individual. His ministry was accompanied by remarkable instances of healing of both physical and psychic ills.

Nothing that Jesus taught was contrary to the best in Judaism. His interest, however, in the spirit rather than the letter of the law, and in motives as well as in deeds, led him on occasion to heated discussions with the Pharisees.

After beheading John, Herod Antipas turned his attention to Jesus and his followers. Since it became increasingly difficult to work in Galilee, Jesus moved courageously to Jerusalem. There he taught daily in the temple court and achieved wide popularity. The length of this Jerusalem ministry cannot have exceeded a few months.

Just before the Passover festival in the spring of the year 28 or 29 A.D., Jesus incurred the wrath of the Sadducees by condemning the traffic in sacrificial birds and the money exchange carried on in the temple area. He drove the money-changers and sellers of cattle out of the courtyard of the sanctuary. This, the only display of the use of force by Jesus, was a brave act, but it hastened his death. He had struck a mortal blow at the lucrative traffic of the priests and had reminded the temple throngs: "It hath been written, 'My house shall be called a House of Prayer for all peoples' but ye have made it a den of thieves."

The Sadducees now became as hostile toward him as the Pharisees. The latter, also humiliated, felt that the disturbance he caused would draw Roman attention to the Jewish community and result in further restrictions.

Jesus had made many enemies among the Pharisees, but they dared not touch him during the day when he was surrounded by friendly crowds. They needed someone to point him out on the way to his nightly resting place. For this they bribed Judas, one of the twelve disciples. For thirty pieces of silver he agreed to betray his master. Actually, not greed but bitter disappointment in the apparent failure of Jesus' Messiahship motivated the zealous Judas.

Jesus met with his disciples to celebrate the Passover. The room in which this historic event is believed to have taken place, the Cenaculum, may still be seen on Mount Zion. All of the orthodox Christian churches consider the Last Supper to have been the ultimate in sacred events. Known as the Eucharist, it is solemnly celebrated as one of the sacraments.

After the Last Supper, Jesus went to an orchard on the Mount of Olives to pray. As he emerged from the trees, he was greeted by Judas with a kiss, the pre-arranged signal for seizing Jesus.

At the trial before the Sanhedrin at the house of Caiaphas, the High Priest, Jesus maintained silence until asked whether he was the Messiah. When he said he was, the High Priest exclaimed that such a blasphemous claim made him deserving of death.

Since the Jews, however, had no power to execute anyone, they turned Jesus over to the civil authorities. Pilate, the Roman consul, found Jesus innocent. As a pagan, he had no understanding of the religious issues involved. Selecting one of the three charges—that

of Jesus' claim to be the King of the Jews—he questioned him about it. Again he was not fully convinced; Jesus' personality was unlike that of the leader of any armed revolt. As an astute politician, however, he realized that it would be unwise to oppose the Jewish leaders and perhaps provoke a riot that would reflect on his administration. Hence he yielded to the crowd clamoring for the liberation of Barabbas, the violent insurrectionist, and for the execution of Jesus, the meek non-resistant. Promptly releasing Barabbas, Pilate decreed that Jesus should be crucified. The day of the crucifixion is commemorated throughout Christendom as Good Friday. The Sunday that followed, when, according to the scriptural account, Jesus rose from the dead, is Easter.

A question not to be evaded at this point is: "Who was guilty of the death of Jesus?" This is an extremely serious and far-reaching issue, for the false accusation that the Jews were to blame had led to the heartless, unjustified epithet of "Christ-killers" and to two thousand years of bitter, cruel persecution.

The gospel writers were anxious to placate the Romans and did not hesitate to put the Jews in an unfavorable light. Even so, their record clearly indicates that, to the Jewish religious leaders, the Messianic claim of Jesus was blasphemous. They felt constrained to treat him as a heretic. Furthermore, they felt that his teaching endangered the security of the Jewish people and aroused the suspicion of the Romans. The Jewish leaders tried and condemned Jesus for his unorthodox—and in their estimation—dangerous religious views. The Romans put him to death because they considered him a revolutionary and a possible menace to the state.

If the blame is to be placed on anyone, it must rest on the High Priest Caiaphas, a pro-Roman Sadducee, and on Pontius Pilate, who ordered the execution. To a lesser degree, the hostile mob may be implicated. But certainly it is unintelligent and unjust to hold the entire Jewish people responsible for the death of Jesus and to make that bloodguilt hereditary for nineteen centuries.

Actually, Jesus and his followers helped establish some of the basic ideals of Judaism in all quarters of the globe. Through the activities of the Christian Church the Hebrew Bible has become the most widespread, the most sacred book in print. Israel, as a people and as a faith, should be proud that it contributed the

noblest human being who ever lived and who is considered divine by millions. His teachings have revolutionized Western thinking and have reformed human conduct. A great Jewish scholar, Professor Joseph Klausner, who made an exhaustive study of the life of Jesus, says: "In his ethical code there is a sublimity, distinctiveness, and originality in form unparalleled in any other Hebrew ethical code . . . From the standpoint of general humanity, he is, indeed, 'a light to the Gentiles.'"

12. *The Rise of Christianity*

Christianity was born when Simon Peter and other disciples of Jesus came to the remarkable conviction that their crucified leader was no longer dead, but was alive and had appeared to them. He rose to heaven, they believed, and sat at the right hand of God, from where he would soon return in power and glory.

Inspired by this belief, they formed a synagogue in Jerusalem and established a new Messianic sect. This original group maintained its thoroughly Jewish nature. The Torah was to be kept as the first requirement for "justification," i.e., the right relationship to God sought by every Jew. To share, however, in the coming kingdom, it was necessary to believe that Jesus had been and was the Messiah. When Simon Peter left Jerusalem in 44 A.D., leadership was assumed by James, the brother of Jesus. After James was stoned to death in 62, the remaining "Judeo-Christians" fled across the Jordan River to Pella. They took no part in the war with Rome and ultimately disappeared.

The missionary zeal, however, of these earliest "Christians" provided opportunity for the conversion of non-Palestinian Jews such as Paul of Tarsus. The Apostle Paul was (as he claimed) "a Hebrew of Hebrews" and a Pharisee. He had, however, been educated in the Greek world of Asia Minor as well as Jerusalem, had traveled widely, and so became the "apostle to the Gentiles." The gospel he preached declared that the Torah had been abrogated by the death of Jesus and was no longer of value. Justification was to be obtained by faith in Jesus as Messiah and Lord (a term familiar to Gentile Salvation cults). This denial of the Law forced Christianity out of Judaism so that it might become an independent, universal religious movement. With Paul, Barnabas, Apollos, and a host of

other traveling evangelists whose names are now lost to us, the new faith swept across and "conquered" the Roman Empire in less than three centuries.

13. *Judea Capta and Bar-Kochba*

The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus was an overwhelming catastrophe for the Jews. One report indicates that more than a million persons died in combat or starved to death during the siege. Many survivors were sent to Rome as captives. The temple was reduced to ashes and the city left in ruins. Even before the fighting ended, the rabbinic school had fled to Jabneh, there to attempt a salvage of the traditions of Judaism.

Outside of Palestine, "Zealot" hope still stirred. Jews rose up in Egypt, Cyrene, and on the island of Cyprus during the reigns of Domitian and Trajan. In violent reaction to special taxation and in general animosity toward Greek and Roman rulers, they carried out sudden and savage slaughter. The Greeks in Alexandria responded by murdering "the whole race," and elsewhere, in bitter fighting, the Jews were suppressed ruthlessly.

It was the Roman emperor Hadrian, however, who provoked the most serious rebellion by his proscription against Judaism, which banned the reading of the Torah, circumcision, and Sabbath observance. As a direct consequence, there emerged in Palestine the bold warrior Simon Bar-Kochba with an organized army of more than 200,000 men. Declared to be Messiah by the important religious leader, Rabbi Akiba, Bar-Kochba scored brief but telling victories over the Romans. After a highly destructive war, which ended in 135, he went down to complete military immolation and death before the Roman general Severus.

Hadrian then introduced even sterner measures for Jerusalem. He undertook the building of a shrine to Jupiter on the site of Solomon's temple and constructed baths and circuses. He issued a royal decree that no Jew was ever again to set foot in the traditional capital, or "to contemplate even at a distance its sacred height" on pain of death. Rabbi Akiba was scourged and executed. The city was renamed "Aelia Capitolina," after the emperor's first name, and the new dedication to "Jupiter of the Capitol."

The Jews of antiquity had made their last brave effort and had

failed. As Bar-Kochba passed from the scene, Jewish nationalist aspirations entered a period of eclipse which was to continue for more than eighteen centuries.

14. *The Patriarchate*

In destroying Bar-Kochba, the Roman legions had almost wiped out the population of Judea. The school at Jabneh was ultimately ordered closed. The intellectual and spiritual center of Jewish life then moved north to Usha and Tiberias in Galilee, where it remained for almost three hundred years.

The Romans recognized the president of the rabbinical assembly as Patriarch (also termed "Prince"), that is, as the political and religious leader of the Jewish community.

During the period of the Patriarchate local synagogues retained their independence. Lay readers were often wealthy landowners who had but a limited interest in the scholarly activities carried on by the rabbis. Nevertheless, it was the rabbinical schools, through their studies, which provided the permanent foundations of later Judaism. Rabbi Judah, "the Prince" (135-220), directed a collection of interpretations of the Torah in the best Pharisaic tradition. The *Mishnah*, as these were known, became the basis of Jewish orthodoxy.

The complete separation of Jew and Christian was not brought about at once. It was a process which extended over a century. The effect was twofold: 1) it resulted in a strengthening and purification of Judaism; and 2) it proved disastrous to the development of native Christianity in Palestine. The Nazarenes were in a most unfortunate position. As Christians, they were excluded from the synagogue; as former Jews, they were looked upon by the Church with suspicion and accepted only reluctantly. A final blow was their exclusion by the Romans from Aelia Capitolina, the new Jerusalem, where a wholly Gentile church was organized. The Judeo-Christians fled across the Jordan to find themselves denounced as heretics. In the course of a few hundred years they vanished completely. Curiously enough, an almost similar fate overtook a group of Jews, the Samaritans, who considered themselves the true believers.

15. *The Samaritans*

Long before the appearance of the Christians, the orthodox Jews had been extremely hostile to another group, the Samaritans, who shared some of their religious views. The Samaritans lived in that section of Palestine stretching from the mountains of Ephraim down to the Mediterranean Sea. This animosity went back to 536 B.C., when the exiles returning from Babylon under Zerubbabel found that the natives who had remained in the land had intermarried with foreigners settled there by the conquerors.

These Samaritans, who had accepted the books of Moses and considered themselves faithful Jews, were eager to join in rebuilding the Temple and had said: "Let us build with you, for we seek your God as you do."

Zerubbabel rudely rejected their offer by declaring, "Ye have nothing to do with us to build a home for our God."

The Samaritans appealed to the Persian king, Cyrus, and succeeded in holding up the restoration of the Temple for eight years. Zerubbabel's anger only increased. He declared all marriages with Samaritans invalid and forced the sect out of the congregation of Israel. In reprisal the Samaritans attacked the Israelites as they erected the walls of Jerusalem.

Actually the Samaritans considered themselves "the real Jews," inasmuch as they had never left the soil of Palestine. Stubbornly they rejected the returned exiles and their sanctuary. Instead they built a rival temple on Mount Gerizim near their capital, Samaria; and when this was destroyed, the Romans helped them to rebuild it.

In the course of history the Samaritans were almost wiped out. Their center is still Schechem (Nablus) in the shadow of Mount Gerizim. This town is almost entirely Arabic today, for there are probably no more than 200 Samaritans left. Ironically, too, these "real Jews" are not within the state of Israel, for Nablus lies in the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan.

The intense sufferings the Jews had endured tightened the bonds of kinship and intensified their consciousness of being the "Chosen People." Judea had been destroyed, but not the Jews nor Judaism. The material loss resulted in great spiritual gains.

16. *Galuth*

Long before the fall of Jerusalem, many Jews had already left Judea to found settlements in Babylonia, Syria, Egypt and Italy. Indeed, four times as many Jews lived outside the borders of Palestine as within them. The destruction of their national and religious center caused them to look upon themselves as living in exile,—*Galuth*, as they termed it. Their attachment to Zion became almost a religious obsession. Every day the pious Jew turned eastward—as he still does—and prayed for Jerusalem's restoration: "Rebuild it soon in our time, O Lord!" Most of the ritual became a perpetual mourning for the devastated Temple.

Intermittent Jewish persecutions continued in some large cities of the Empire. This situation improved under the Constitution of Caracalla (211), when Jews were admitted to Roman citizenship, but worsened sharply a century later when Christianity became the official religion. Although theoretically included in the religious toleration guaranteed by the Edict of Milan, Jews were regarded with hatred and suspicion by emperors who professed the Christian faith.

Because of hostile measures inaugurated by the Christian church, more and more Jewish scholars felt constrained to leave Palestine. They found greater freedom under the Persian rulers of Mesopotamia, and by the fourth century Babylon had assumed leadership in many aspects of Jewish religious life. In 425, Theodosius II abolished the Patriarchate. The heart of Judaism, however, had already moved to the East where the Babylonian Talmud, the most inclusive commentary on Jewish life and law, was being completed.

17. *Last Days of Roman Rule*

The last centuries of Roman rule were full of suffering for the Jews. Ecclesiastical edicts made life increasingly hard; public offices and professions were closed to the Jews. Synagogues were pillaged and defiled. In some instances they were destroyed or taken over as Christian churches. This was an especially serious matter in that the Jews were forbidden to build new synagogues.

Perhaps the greatest number of inequities, however, sprang from the Code of Justinian (531) which had the effect of denying Jews,

as "non-believers," both property and personal rights. The end of the sixth century found Christians forcing Jews to be baptized. Finally Pope Gregory I, in contrast to other rulers of the period, came to their defense by insisting that "they were to be won by tenderness, by gentleness, not by threats, terrors and unjust usage."

In 614 many Jews joined with the Persians in the conquest of Palestine, and a wholesale massacre of Christians took place. Scores of Christian churches, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, were set on fire. When the Roman emperor Heraclius recaptured the land in 629, the Christian clergy in Jerusalem celebrated the event by a similar massacre of the Jews, part of their jubilation stemming from the belief that they had recovered "the true cross."

In the East, meanwhile, a new and mighty conqueror had appeared. Omar, the second Mohammedan Caliph, had united the Arabs under his banner and was advancing into Syria and Palestine. With the "irresistible sword of the Prophet," the forces of Omar defeated Heraclius at the Yarmuk River on the Judean coast in 636.

Thus Roman rule came to an end in Palestine. The sign of the Cross had been replaced by the Crescent. The ancient homeland of the Jews was now a part of the vast domain of Islam.

II

Palestine under the Moslems

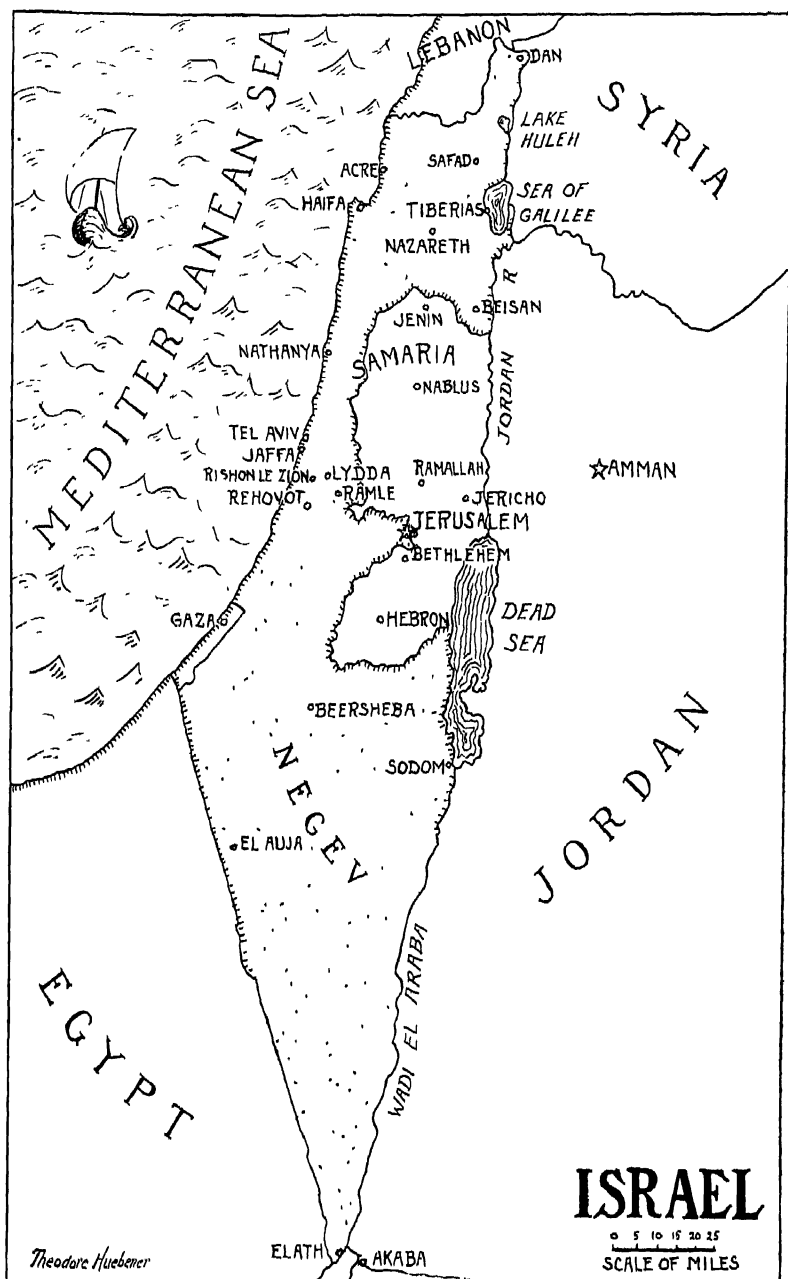
1. Mohammed and Islam

WHILE Heraclius was leading his troops in the desert south of Damascus, in an attempt to restore order in ravaged Syria, a strange message in Arabic was brought to him. It came from Mohammed, the obscure camel driver in Medina, and called upon the Roman emperor to worship the One True God, Allah, of whom Mohammed was the prophet.

The same message came to Kavadh, ruler of the Persians. Tearing up the letter, he angrily threw the fragments at the envoy and told him to leave. This act of defiance was reported to Mohammed, who became enraged and cried: "Take his kingdom from him, O Lord!"

None of Mohammed's humble companions could have realized then that their Master's teaching would one day be accepted by millions, and that kingdoms stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean would venerate him as the prophet of God. His career concerns us because his followers ruled over Palestine for more than a thousand years.

It was in 570 A.D. that Mohammed, the founder of Islam, was born in extreme poverty in Mecca. In his youth he was a shepherd, unable to read and write. Later he traveled as a trader with caravans to Yemen and to Syria. He does not seem to have distinguished himself in this capacity. On the other hand, both sensitive and observant, he could not help but note the beautiful Christian churches, listen to the teaching of the monks in Syria, and, in Yemen, be-





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come deeply impressed by the belief in One God held so tenaciously by the Jews of that ancient kingdom.

Nor could he, being of a philosophical turn of mind, fail to compare the noble religious sentiments of both Jews and Christians with the crude superstitions and idol-worship of his own people. In Mecca itself there was always a vivid evidence: The Kaaba, a temple of black stones with a meteorite as the cornerstone that his fellow citizens worshipped as the deity who reigned over all the tribal gods of Arabia. The pilgrimages to Mecca and the ceremonies at the Kaaba which attracted huge crowds and produced sizable revenues were a part of his youthful experience.

When Mohammed was twenty-five, he married Kadija, a prosperous widow (in whose home he had been employed). For the next fifteen years he seems to have led an easy, carefree existence, with, however, periods of meditation and self-examination. Occasionally, he withdrew to the wilderness to think on God, life, death, and the hereafter. He claimed that the angel Gabriel appeared to him and revealed to him truths which he committed to memory. Finally, at the age of forty, he expressed his religious convictions to his wife and a few friends.

He stressed belief in one God, Allah, and claimed that he, Mohammed, was his prophet. Yet he also acknowledged the Hebrew patriarchs and seers, including Jesus, accepting them as divine teachers. Undoubtedly, Judaism and Christianity influenced him; for example, after the manner of Jesus, he chose twelve apostles.

His revelations were taken down by his followers on pieces of pottery and bone. After Mohammed's death these fragments were collected and copied into a book called the *Koran*. This became the sacred scripture of the Mohammedans. Comprising 114 chapters or *suras*, only one version—in Arabic—was compiled; and thus the Mohammedans have never been troubled by textual discrepancies as have Christians with the Bible.

For a time the new faith was held only by Mohammed's wife; Ali, an adopted son; Zaid, a slave; and Abu Bekr, a friend. Few paid attention to Mohammed until he began not only to preach a life in the hereafter, but to threaten idolaters with hell fire. By such preachments, Mohammed menaced the lucrative traffic of Mecca; and, as a consequence, his followers were persecuted. The

Prophet himself was not molested, however. Not only his wealth and position protected him, but it was unthinkable that the Holy City would be involved in blood and violence.

After ten years of unsuccessful ministry, during which his devoted wife died, Mohammed left Mecca. In Tayf, a neighboring community, he was met with stones and abuse. Then, unexpectedly, an invitation came to go to Medina. Mohammed sent disciples before him to preach and prepare his way. Soon only he and his friend, Abu Bekr, were left in Mecca. Realizing the danger if Mohammed were to make Medina his stronghold, the elders of Mecca plotted to assassinate him; but when on the night set, the murderers entered Mohammed's bedroom, they found only his adopted son, Ali, asleep. Mohammed and Abu Bekr had fled secretly. By a circuitous route they made their way to Medina. There they were warmly welcomed.

This flight from Mecca to Medina, known as the Hegira, took place September 20, 622. It is a milestone in Islamic history, marking as it does the beginning of the Prophet's power and of the Mohammedan era.

In Medina, Mohammed erected the first mosque. He helped build it with his own hands. For several years raids upon caravans and intermittent skirmishes took place between the rival cities. In the final encounter, Mohammed, entrenching himself in Medina, successfully defied his enemies. After the siege, the Prophet diverted his followers by leading in the massacre of 900 Jews in a nearby castle. He had begun his career as a man of peace and gentleness. Averse to violence, he had found that the sword enabled him to make swifter progress.

In accordance with a truce, the Prophet's rule was extended to Mecca. The faithful were to face in the direction of this Holy City when they prayed, and it was to be the goal of pilgrimages. In 629, Mohammed entered Mecca at the head of 10,000 followers and smashed 300 idols in the Kaaba. By war, treaty, and intrigues, he became master of all Arabia; and when he next made a pilgrimage to Mecca, 100,000 adherents accompanied him.

During the eleven years from the Hegira to his death, Mohammed welded the scattered Arab tribes into one people. Although he claimed to be the Prophet of Allah, he did not hesitate to employ

potentate, he acquired wives and concubines according to his fancy, even marrying the wife of his adopted son, Ali. He showed no prejudice in his choice of women, for his harem contained, among others, a Jewess and an Egyptian.

Despite his rather dissolute and irregular life, Mohammed evolved a religion which taught many desirable virtues. Islam insists on such tenets as kindness in daily life; the gift of one-tenth of one's income to the poor; prayer five times daily; abstinence from alcohol. The pious Moslem must make at least one pilgrimage to Mecca. He must keep the month of Ramadan as a fast. Indeed, Mohammedanism is a simple, universal, monotheistic religion, and as such, in singular contrast to the interminable theological disputes of the Christians and the seeming exclusiveness of the Jews. It allowed no images, no saints, no sacrifices, no hierarchy of priests. Its creed was summed up in the words: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet."

Islam, full of the spirit of generosity and brotherhood, made no racial distinctions and appealed to man's basic spiritual needs. Inevitably, it spread rapidly in the face of a corrupt Byzantine Christianity and a weakened Judaism.

Throughout his life-time, Abu Bekr remained the Prophet's steadfast friend. He believed completely in Mohammed and sustained him with a clear conscience and energetic will. When the Prophet died of a fever in 632, Abu Bekr succeeded him as Caliph (*Kalifa*, meaning "successor"). His deep faith in the righteousness of Allah carried him forward on a wave of triumph. He prevented a split between Mecca and Medina; suppressed an insurrection of the Bedouins; carried Islam beyond the borders of Arabia.

2. *The Arab Invasion of Palestine*

Caliph Abu Bekr, eager to spread Islam, had determined to capture the fertile province of Syria from the Christians. In the very first engagement, he defeated Heraclius, the Roman emperor.

Upon Abu Bekr's death in 634, he was succeeded by Omar, the second Caliph, whose troops captured Damascus, Caesarea, Samaria, Nablus, Lydd, and Jaffa. Meanwhile, Heraclius collected a huge army and marched against the Arabs. They retreated and met the Romans on the banks of the Yarmuk, a tributary of the

Jordan. Betrayed by a disgruntled Christian, the army of Heracilius was utterly routed; and thus, in 636, ended the rule of the Byzantine Empire in Syria and Palestine.

Marching south, Omar's army besieged Jerusalem. The city offered only feeble resistance. When Omar entered the walls he asked to be shown the site of Solomon's Temple. Much to the embarrassment of Sophronius, the Patriarch, he could show the interested Arab nothing but a dunghill. Since the Moslems believed the black rock hidden beneath to be the spot from which Mohammed flew to heaven on a fiery steed, Omar considered the condition of the site a blasphemy. He immediately ordered the area cleaned up and a mosque erected.

In 684, Omar's successor, Abd al-Malik, built the present beautiful shrine which is known as the Mosque of Omar, or the Dome of the Rock. The smaller Aksa Mosque was probably also his work. The Temple area, containing these two beautiful shrines, became the goal of pious Moslem pilgrims, since Jerusalem ranked second only after Mecca and Medina as a Holy Place. Abd al-Malik's second son, Sulayman (715-17), not only made Palestine his permanent residence, but built a beautiful palace and an elaborate mosque at Ramleh not far from Jerusalem.

Quite soon there arose dissensions among rival aspirants for the Caliphate. The two chief divisions were the orthodox Sunnite and the dissenting Shiite sects.

The new empire was loosely organized, for its capital was in distant Medina. Moawiya, first Caliph of the orthodox Omayyad dynasty, transferred the capital from Mecca to Damascus; under one of the Omayyads, the Caliph Walid, the Arab empire extended from Spain to India.

In 750, Abbas al-Saffah overthrew the Omayyads and founded the dynasty of the Abbasids. His successor, Al-Mansur, transferred the capital to Baghdad. On the whole, the Abbasids were enlightened and Baghdad became a flourishing cultural center. Christian and Jewish scholars were at its court. However, essentially an Oriental and not a Western civilization now began to develop. It spread its influence into Palestine which prospered in the beginning under the rule of the Abbasids, for the soil was fertile and both trade and industry bloomed.

Contrary to general belief, the Arab conquest was not prompted by a desire to make religious converts but rather by an economic motive. Money was desired. Actually, the conquerors were not very eager to gain converts, for Moslems did not pay taxes. They were inclined, therefore, to treat their new subjects with generosity so that tribute might be collected with greater ease.

The first Caliph, Abu Bekr, had instructed his troops to keep their word even to their enemies, not to slaughter civilians or cattle, nor to destroy crops and fruit trees. His successor, Omar, equally just and tolerant, distinguished himself by the simplicity of his life and his respect for other religions.

Swiftly and with comparative ease, the Arabs had made their gains in the Middle East, due in part to their organization and enthusiasm, but due also to the debilitated Byzantine and Persian empires. In addition, orthodox Christianity's intolerance had created dissatisfaction among wide segments of the population. The persecuted Jews had for decades looked to Persia for relief; they now welcomed the Moslems for the same reason.

The Caliphs ruled a mixed population of Jews, Samaritans, Christians and Moslems. On the whole, they treated their subjects justly, and refrained from the intolerance and oppression which had marked the Byzantine era. Omar established basic principles for the Arab attitude. Cities that surrendered peacefully were accorded certain rights. After they had paid their taxes, the non-Moslems, known as *dhimmi*s, were free to continue their accustomed activities. They kept their property and their churches. Religious rites were permitted as long as they were unobtrusive. Both Jews and Christians, organized as autonomous religious communities, formed cultural isles within the Arab society.

At the beginning, there were few converts to Islam; but soon political and social conditions made it profitable to join the Mohammedans. Records were now being kept in Arabic; Moslems expected they would fill official positions held by Christians and Jews. Although Christians in Palestine constituted the majority of the population to the ninth century, their authority and standing waned; and like the Jews, they were now treated as second-class citizens.

To the credit of the Arab invaders, it must be recorded that they

did not interfere with the many Christian pilgrims, except briefly on two occasions in the 11th century. Nor did they interfere with the orthodox Christians who still looked to Byzantium for guidance. Churches and monasteries were secure, at least in Western Palestine. Christians could continue even theological controversies unmolested, for the Arabs were indifferent to their religious beliefs.

3. Jewish Scholarly Activities

The Jews fared even better in the eighth century than the Christians from whose intolerance they had suffered for three centuries. Despite unrest and occasional harassments they remained in various parts of Palestine and established their capital at Tiberias. After the Moslem conquest, many returned even to Jerusalem. They bought the slopes of the Mount of Olives, where the chief religious festivals were held. In Lydda, Ramleh, Ascalon, Caesarea and Gaza, important Jewish communities flourished.

Jewish religious leaders continued their scholarly activities. The Jerusalem Talmud was completed and the commentaries known as the Midrash were edited. The text of the Bible itself was studied. The Hebrew language, fallen into disuse, was now revived. To insure textual reliability, scholars introduced a more efficient system of pointing and punctuation known as the Masorah and used at Tiberias by the Masoretes whose text of the Bible remains authoritative even today.

Under the pressure of Islam, both the Christian and the Jewish populations declined numerically. While the Christians of Palestine made little or no contribution to scholarship and theology, the Jews showed remarkable activity.

The completion of the Talmud resulted in the imposing of an elaborate and rigid religious life on the believer—an imposition not all Jews were ready to accept. In the second half of the eighth century, several revolts occurred. A rabbi of Babylon, Anan ben David, emphasized the laws of the Bible as opposed to the Talmud and founded the Karites, a group still in existence. Not very successful in Babylon, they removed to Jerusalem. There they founded an ascetic brotherhood, the Mourners of Zion, who passed their lives in poverty and prayer for the restoration of the Temple.

As before the Moslem Conquest, so after it, the Jews formed a

religious and political community. Under the Romans, its head had been the patriarch residing in Tiberias; under the Arabs, he was the *gaon* (president) of the rabbinical academy in that city. It was there that the calendar was fixed for Jews throughout the world.

The decline of the Caliphate of the Abbasids seemed to react unfavorably on Jewish life, which presently began to show signs of decay. Leadership in Jewish scholarship passed to other lands, notably to Egypt and Spain, where Jewish philosophy and poetry flourished. Indeed, considerable rivalry arose between the protagonists of the Babylonian Talmud and that of Jerusalem. For a time, the latter was supreme; and the head of the Jerusalem Yeshiva assumed the title of Gaon of Jacob, deciding in matters of ritual and calendar schedules. But the supremacy of Jerusalem did not last long, for the Jewish community became so poor that finally it had to depend on subsidies from Cairo.

The decline of Palestine Jewry was gradual. For two centuries following the Arab conquest, Palestine remained a prosperous country with blooming vineyards and busy towns. This prosperity was slowly but steadily undermined by the inefficient administration of the Caliphs, burdensome taxation, and a lack of protection from marauding adventurers. More and more Arabs occupied the land; at length, the majority of the population was Moslem and spoke Arabic. This Islamization did not increase the strength and well-being of the country. Baghdad's ineffectual rule brought poverty and decay to Moslem, as well as to Jewish and Christian communities. Palestine seemed but a remote province. It was not well protected; and, in the ninth century, insurrections broke out. The Bedouins made frequent raids. Towns were sacked; villages were burned; monasteries and churches were destroyed.

4. *The Turkish Conquest*

More and more the Caliphs in Baghdad began to rely on Turkish mercenaries to maintain order. This tactic weakened their power so that they became little more than figureheads. Ambitious local governors made themselves hereditary princes and completely disregarded Baghdad.

One of the most energetic of the Turkish adventurers was Ahmad ibn-Tulun. Beginning his career as a lieutenant-governor of Egypt,

he soon made himself an independent ruler. In 877, he conquered Palestine and Syria, founding a powerful military state with a naval base at Acre. Through him the destinies of Palestine were linked to Egypt. In 905 Egypt and Syria reverted for thirty years to the Abbasids, who were unable, however, to maintain order. Christian churches and monasteries, among them the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, were severely damaged by riots and civil warfare.

In the meantime, another Turkish adventurer, Mohammed ibn-Tughj, sent to restore order in Egypt, seized control not only of Egypt but also of Palestine and Syria. He assumed the title of Prince. His kingdom, however, did not survive him. Through misrule it was so weakened that even the Byzantines were enabled once more to penetrate into Palestine, a development that led to reprisals against the Christian population and Christian churches. Interesting to relate, for 20 years, the country was actually ruled by an Abyssinian Negro slave.

Meanwhile, there now appeared a new and more powerful conqueror, Jawhar, leader of the Fatimid princes. The Fatimids claimed descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, and had established themselves as Caliphs in northwestern Africa in 909. Later they extended their rule to Palestine and Syria under Al-Aziz, a tolerant and enlightened ruler.

On his death, civil war broke out. Jawhar's successor, al-Hakim, mounted the throne in 996, but soon became deranged, claiming he was an incarnation of God. Some of his subjects accepted his statement and formed the esoteric sect of the Druses which survives in both Israel and Syria to this day.

In 1009, al-Hakim, forbidding pilgrimages to Jerusalem, ordered all churches and synagogues destroyed. The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, one of Christendom's most sacred shrines, shocked the Western world and by thus drawing attention to the Turkish persecution of Christians, inspired the first crusade. Passions were aroused; and, when the false rumor was circulated that Jews had been responsible, widespread massacres of that unhappy people resulted. After the death of al-Hakim, a brief period of comparative peace followed.

By the eleventh century Islam had long ceased to be a unified empire, having broken up into a number of rival kingdoms. In Bagh-

dad the orthodox Sunnite Caliph was virtually a prisoner of the Turkish palace guard. Shiite heretics ruled in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.

Suddenly, from the borders of China came the Seljuk Turks. Orthodox Moslems, they conquered the heretical rulers and set themselves up as protectors of the Baghdad Caliph. In 1055, their leader was proclaimed Sultan.

They wrested Armenia from the Greeks. They swept through Asia Minor. Led by Sultan Alp Arslin, they routed the Byzantine army under Emperor Romanus Diogenes at the battle of Manzikert in 1071. Shortly thereafter, they were in Nicaea, facing Constantinople. The very existence of the Byzantine Empire was threatened. In desperation, Emperor Michael VII asked Pope Gregory for assistance. A more urgent appeal was made by his successor, Alexius Comnenus, to Pope Urban II.

These appeals were of considerable significance, for, in 1054, the Greek (Byzantine) Church had split from the Latin (Roman) Church. It was practically an admission of the weakness of the Eastern Empire and of reliance on the power of Rome. Here was an excellent opportunity to extend the influence of the Pope over Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and, in addition, to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Moslems.

5. *The Crusades*

The last cry for help came from Constantinople in 1094. The following year, Urban II assembled a great council at Clermont in France. His purpose: to prepare for war against the "infidels." The motives were not all religious. The Pope hoped to divert the warlike propensities of the princes whose incessant skirmishes were ruining Europe. In urging them to go on a mission to the Holy Land to rescue the Holy Sepulchre, he even appealed to their cupidity, pointing out the rich opportunities in "the land of milk and honey."

The Pope's appeal was made primarily to the royalty and nobility of Christian Europe. A more direct and emotional appeal was made to the masses by Peter the Hermit. A dramatic figure, clad in coarse garments and bearing a huge cross, this simple monk rode on a donkey and addressed crowds throughout France and

Germany. Vividly describing the cruelties visited upon Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land by the Seljuk Turks, he aroused his hearers to a high and almost hysterically religious fervor.

Indeed, many were so moved they dropped their tools and left their shops to rush into the great adventure. Two great armies, which could be more accurately described as mobs, set out at once for the East. When they reached Hungary, they committed such excesses that the natives massacred them. Another section of this "People's Crusade" began a great slaughter of Jews as they marched through the Rhineland. Two other vanguards under Peter the Hermit reached Constantinople, after committing outrages along the way. A considerable portion of these wandering masses consisted of ne'er-do-wells moved rather by greed and adventure than by religion. Emperor Alexius, in self-defense, promptly shipped them across the Bosphorus where the Seljuks massacred them. There is no question that the Emperor was thoroughly alarmed at the appearance of these undisciplined hordes from Western Europe. When, in 1097, the regularly organized military forces of the First Crusade, consisting chiefly of Normans, captured Nicaea, Alexius quickly took over and persuaded them to move on. Led by Godfrey de Bouillon, they trekked through desert and wilderness to attack distant Jerusalem. They suffered such severe privations on the way that of 600,000, who had started out, only about 40,000 reached the Holy City.

Their assault, however, was successful. On July 5, 1099, they captured Jerusalem. Jubilantly, the Crusaders entered the city and brutally slaughtered Jews and Moslems. According to one account, the streets were so high with blood that the soldiers splashed in it.

Rivalry between the various leaders broke out almost at once. It is a painful record of unrelieved and unredcemed envy, hatred, and malice. The noblest role was played by Godfrey de Bouillon, who agreed to accept rule of the city but only with the title of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. He refused to be king where his Lord had been but a poor wandering teacher. The ecclesiastics were less humble: The Latin Church immediately assumed the authority of the Eastern Patriarch and the Byzantine Christians soon realized they were worse off under their co-believers than under the Turks.

With Jerusalem's fall, the mission of the Franks (as the Moslems called all the Crusaders) had been accomplished; and most of them returned home. The establishment of the so-called Latin Kingdom or colonies was the work of but a few thousand Crusaders. Four states were organized: the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the vassal states of Edessa, Antioch and Tripoli. A year later, upon Godfrey de Bouillon's death, his brother, Baldwin, count of Edessa, was elected king.

Although the Latin Kingdom was a highly feudal organization, it prospered. Trade, especially with the Italian cities, flourished; countless pilgrims and adventurers came to the Holy Land. Protection and hospitality were provided by the newly formed military orders of the Hospitalers and the Templars.

The Saracens, upholding the Moslem opposition to the Crusaders, did not, however, give up. In 1144, Edessa was captured by Zangi, the Governor of Mosul. This disaster caused an appeal for help to be sent to Europe. Louis VII of France and Emperor Conrad III of Germany responded—and their response was the Sacred Crusade (1147-49). These two Christian sovereigns, however, were unable to agree and ultimately were defeated in Asia Minor. Their crusade failed utterly.

Meanwhile, the energetic and intelligent Saladin (Salah ed-Din), a brave warrior of Kurdish origin, restored Egypt to the suzerainty of the orthodox Caliph of Baghdad. Inspiring his followers with patriotic fervor, Saladin launched a holy war to recover Palestine. He crushed Guy de Lusignan, the worthless leader of the Crusaders, at the battle of Hattin, near Tiberias in 1187. Weighed down by heavy armor under a tropical sun, the Franks suffered severe discomfort and were completely routed by the Saracens, who set the very fields on fire. The Moslems overran the Latin Kingdom, capturing town after town, including Jerusalem. Only Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch now remained in the Crusaders' hands.

The loss of Jerusalem aroused Europe. The Third Crusade (1189-1192) was undertaken by the three leading Christian princes, Philipp Augustus of France, Richard I of England, and Frederick Barbarossa of Germany. The latter drowned while fording a small stream in Asia Minor. The other two sovereigns were bitterly jealous of each other. After Acre had been captured, Philipp re-

turned home. Despite Richard's valor—he is known as the Lion-Hearted—he could not overcome the equally valiant Saladin. In order to gain Jerusalem, Richard even offered his sister as a bride to Saladin's brother; the Holy City was to be the dowry. In 1192, he made a three-year truce with the Saracen leader, according to which Christian pilgrims had free access to Jerusalem while the Crusaders were confined to a narrow strip on the coast.

This humiliating situation induced Pope Innocent III to seek a Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The Venetians, with primarily commercial interests, had the operations diverted to Constantinople. The city was taken by storm; and a Latin Empire was established which lasted half a century. The Crusade itself ended before it reached Moslem territory.

An event of ghastly cruelty at that time was the Crusade of the Children in 1212. More than 50,000 boys and girls set out for the Holy Land, only to be killed or sold into slavery in Italy.

The Fifth Crusade (1218–21) was also a failure. Because of his delay, Frederick II of Germany was excommunicated by the Pope; despite this, he obtained Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth and a strip of land near Acre by negotiations with the Sultan of Egypt. In 1225, he secured by marriage the title of King of Jerusalem.

A new horde now burst upon the land to disrupt peaceful relations between Christians and Moslems. Mongolian tribes from east of the Caspian had conquered Persia in 1218; and, in 1228, the ruler of Damascus had called upon them for aid. In 1240, they transferred their allegiance to the Sultan of Egypt and pillaged northern Syria.

Driven down through Galilee, the Kharezmians, as they were called, seized Jerusalem in 1244, massacring the inhabitants and plundering the churches. Then they marched on to Gaza. There, with the Egyptians, they defeated the Christians and Moslems who had united in self-defense.

The loss of Jerusalem resulted in the Seventh Crusade (1245–49) under Louis IX of France. He invaded Egypt only to be defeated and made prisoner. Later, he was freed.

The revolt of the Mamelukes in Egypt led them to a new Saracen effort to recover Palestine which was being invaded by Tartar tribes from Central Asia. Under their leader, Halagu, the Tartars captured Baghdad in 1258 and Damascus in 1260. Ravaging Syria,

they were marching south when they were repulsed by Egyptian forces under Bibars (Baibars). The latter murdered the Sultan and then became the head of the Mamelukes who gradually recovered Palestine. The Christians fared badly; churches and shrines throughout the country were destroyed or looted. In 1291, Acre, the last remaining Crusader stronghold, fell. That sounded the death-knell of the Latin Kingdom. It had lasted less than two centuries. Indeed, as the historian tells us, it disappeared suddenly, "leaving no trace but ruins and a few names and an undying hatred of Christians among the native population."

6. Palestine Under Egyptian Rule

Palestine now became a completely Moslem land. From 1291 to 1516 it was a province of the realm of the Sultan of Egypt. The Mamelukes were eager to continue trading with Venice, Pisa and Genoa, for they lacked such important materials as iron and wood; but they imposed such exorbitant tolls and bribes that trade soon ceased to be profitable. Revenues from the port of Alexandria in Egypt declined, especially after the circumnavigation of Africa and the discovery of America. Ports in the Mediterranean lost their importance, commerce languished.

Palestine showed an even greater decline than Egypt. Its ports were deserted; few foreign merchants arrived. Lack of military protection from Bedouin raids and frequent quarrels among the local emirs resulted in devastation of wide areas.

In 1400, the ferocious Tamerlane and his Asiatic hordes raided Damascus. As if this were not enough, the unhappy land was visited by earthquakes which levelled the walls of cities.

The Christian edifices, despite gifts from pilgrims, were falling into decay or were being confiscated by the Moslems. Often mosques were built with materials pillaged from churches. For whatever reason, Christians were blamed; their property was seized and they were persecuted. The Latins, especially, were subjected to considerable suffering.

In Jerusalem, on the other hand, pilgrims were usually undisturbed, since they brought in valuable revenues. Latin pilgrims were cared for by the Franciscans who eventually came to be regarded as representatives of the Roman Church in Palestine.

The Franciscans established a convent on Mount Zion and

bought the buildings there, including the Cenaculum. This, the room where Jesus is said to have held the Last Supper, may be visited even today. The Franciscans were able to maintain themselves fairly well; they were under the protection of Venice and Genoa, important trading cities, and had acquired immense wealth, which enabled them to bribe local emirs who might be eager to seize church property or to start a persecution.

The Eastern churches—Georgian, Abyssinian, Copt, Jacobite, and Armenian—were less fortunate, for continued exactions by sultans and emirs reduced them to the level of starvation. They were given no help by the Franciscans who displayed little tolerance toward these Oriental Christians.

7. The Jewish Community

The Jewish community, on the other hand, was not divided. Jews, like Christians, suffered from the continued extortions of their Moslem rulers and from the general economic decline; but the wealthier communities of the Diaspora contributed to the maintenance of less fortunate kinsmen in Palestine. Spiritually, the Palestinians were buoyed up by the arrival, now and then, of rabbis and scholars from Europe.

About 300 came to Acre from France and England in the year 1211 at the very time a controversy was raging over the views of the great Egyptian philosopher, Moses Maimonides (1135–1204). The newly arrived scholars condemned his views in no uncertain terms.

Later immigrants, including Jews from Germany, settled in impoverished Jerusalem. Among them was Nachmanides, the distinguished scholar who came from Spain and revived the Jewish community of Jerusalem, making of it an active spiritual center. The expulsion of 1492 sent more Jews from Spain to the Holy Land. By 1522, there were apparently some 4000 in Jerusalem.

8. Palestine Islamized

Both the Jews and the Christians lost some of their shrines and Holy places because the person venerated—whether Jesus or Solomon or Abraham or Rachel—was sacred also to Islam. Thus the

Franciscan convent on Mount Zion was seized: King David was claimed as a Moslem prophet.

By now Palestine had in fact become a Moslem country. During the first century and a half of Arab occupation, Christians and Jews constituted a majority of the population. The Crusades resulted in an increase in the number of Christians and a decrease in the number of Jews. During the Mameluke rule, both Christians and Jews declined because of the intolerable conditions.

However, the Moslems did not fare much better. Due to the economic decline, heavy taxes, and general unrest, Palestine became a land of impoverished peasants whose misery was increased by droughts, plagues and earthquakes. The Holy Land had become a land of desolation.

9. *The Ottoman Turks*

In 1516, Sultan Selim I of the Ottoman Turks defeated the Mamelukes at Marj-Dabik. By this single, historic battle, Syria and Palestine were lost to Egypt and became part of the Ottoman Empire. Selim continued his triumphant career and occupied Egypt in 1517.

The government of Palestine was organized along feudal lines. Local governors were appointed from Constantinople where the revenues were sent. Selim's *Doomesday Book* for Palestine remained the basis for land law and tenure until the twentieth century.

One of the few outstanding rulers was Suleiman the Magnificent, who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem in 1537. In general, however, the *Porte*, as the Turkish government in Constantinople was called, took no special interest in Palestine save to exploit it. Through misrule, corruption, burdensome taxation, and wasteful use of land, the country's natural resources were destroyed. Palestine became barren, with an ignorant, poverty-stricken population eking out a miserable existence. The peasants were oppressed and suffered from the intermittent skirmishes of local sheiks, one of whom a Druse prince named Fahr-ed-din (1595-1634), went so far as to establish a Lebanese kingdom in defiance of the Sultan.

There were repeated disturbances, for the order imposed by the Turks did not endure. In 1575, Jaffa was in ruins. In Acre, the chieftain Dhar el-Amir, rose in revolt. Ahmad, a blood-thirsty

Bosnian who had formerly been a slave in Egypt, was sent to quell the insurrection. As a reward for his success, he was installed as governor at Acre.

Although Ahmad beautified the city with many public buildings and mosques, he was capricious and tyrannical; and because of his cruelty, he acquired the title of *el-Jazzar* or "the Butcher." In 1791, he expelled a colony of French merchants. Eight years later, Napoleon followed his conquest of Egypt by an invasion of Palestine and defeated el-Jazzar; but his capture of Acre was prevented by the timely arrival of British warships.

Napoleon's passing through Palestine focussed attention on the country and brought about a brief period of order; but after his retreat, chaotic conditions prevailed again. The successor of el-Jazzar was the mild Suleiman, upon whose death in 1814, the fanatic Abdullah Pasha came to power.

The Egyptians attacked in 1831 and took Syria from Abdullah. The new ruler of Palestine, Mohammed Ali, began a policy of ruthless suppression. The appearance of the British, Austrian, and Russian fleets off Beirut and the advance of the Turkish army led to a general revolt. Acre surrendered and the Egyptians were expelled.

From 1840, the Turkish government strengthened its hold on Palestine. The powers of local authorities were reduced. Because of the increase in commercial interests of various European nations, many consular officials were installed in Palestine.

Unhappily, the rivalries of the different Christian groups continued to flare up. In 1847, a bitter dispute was carried on between the Greek Orthodox and the Latin (Roman Catholic) ecclesiastics in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem about the right to mark with a star the birthplace of Jesus. This squabble became one of the contributory causes of the Crimean War.

How far the Islamization of Palestine had gone and how powerless Christians had become was dramatically revealed by the procession on June 30, 1835 when the cross was carried publicly through the streets of Jerusalem for the first time since the days of the Crusaders—seven centuries earlier.

III

The Development of Zionism

1. *Plans To Restore Zion*

NO people in history has shown more fervent an attachment to a particular geographic area than the Jews have shown toward Palestine. This profound identification deeply rooted in the concept of "The Promised Land," the land promised to Abraham by God, was a longing that ran through the Books of the Prophets and the Psalms. It was—and is—an integral part of the belief in the coming of the Messiah. Its earliest manifestation was reflected in the return of the Babylonian exiles under Zerubbabel to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

Though the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans in 70 A.D. and the consequent dispersion of the Jews was a terrible blow, the yearning for a return to Zion was almost immediately born in the exiles. It grew until the revolt of Bar-Kochba in 132; with the failure of his attempt at freedom, hope seemed to perish.

It did not die entirely, however. Through the years it flickered fitfully, never shown openly, but reflected in liturgy, prayer, and poetry. Because of the Jew's ghetto seclusion in Europe, restraints were placed on his public participation in any political movement and Jewish nationalism was always veiled.

But the return remained uppermost in the minds of most pious Jews. In various parts of the world, time and again, ardent spirits arose to sound a clarion call to action, sometimes enforcing their plea with a claim to Messiahship. In 720, a Jew of Persia named

Serenus urged a reconquest of Palestine. He called himself The Messiah, but later recanted. He was followed by the more successful and still venerated Abu Isa. In 1147, David Alroy, in Kurdistan, who was immortalized 700 years later by Benjamin Disraeli's novel, called upon the Jews to take up arms. In fact, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many such fiery souls appeared. But all was in vain. Sunk in the lethargy of centuries, the cause seemed hopeless.

In the sixteenth century, an imposter named David Reubeni and his disciple Solomon Molcho, set themselves up as would-be liberators. They evolved fantastic schemes, playing on the mysticism and piety of the Cabala; they were enthusiastically received in Spain, Italy, and Turkey. Again, it was to no avail.

A more diplomatic approach—that of negotiation—was used by Don Joseph Nassi, Duke of Naxos, and a favorite of the Sultan, who conferred with the Turkish court in an effort to prepare the way for a return. He won permission to colonize Tiberias. Offering ships to migrant Jews, he succeeded in rebuilding the Tiberias region, but his efforts were doomed to failure.

The longing for a return received a fresh impulse in the seventeenth century from the Christian Millenarians, the "Fifth Monarchy Men" of England, who awaited the Second Coming of Christ. Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam cooperated with the Millenarians in an effort to procure a settlement in England, preparatory to emigration to Palestine.

In 1666, the appearance in Smyrna of Sabbatai Zevi, who called himself the Messiah, caused intense excitement among both Jews and Christians throughout Europe. Despite Zevi's later apostasy to Islam, many Jews stubbornly refused to be disillusioned.

It was in this century that the influence of the Cabalists manifested itself. Judah the Saint headed a band of mystics who went to Palestine to pray and fast. This mystical attitude received further stimulation from the Chassidic movement.

With the seventeenth century, a number of projects for a Jewish state—not always in Palestine—were drawn up, not only by Jews but by Christians. Among these was a plan by the Dane, Holgar, presented in 1695 to William III of England; another, by the Frenchman, de Langallene, to the Turkish ambassador; still an-

other by Hermann Moritz of Saxony, who saw himself as king of a Jewish state in South America. In 1781, a group of German military officers in Livorno, Italy, proposed a plan by which Governor Ali Bey was to purchase Palestine.

Napoleon, too, became interested. In April, 1799, he issued a proclamation for the restoration of Jerusalem, inviting the Jews of the world "as rightful heirs of Palestine," to "claim the restoration of . . . your political existence as a nation among the nations."

One of the most curious proposals was that of Mordecai Manual Noah, an American journalist, dramatist, and diplomat. In 1825, he planned a Jewish state, to be known as "Ararat" and to be located on Grand Island in the Niagara River, but only as a preliminary step in the restoration of Palestine.

Due to the dawn of the so-called Era of Enlightenment and the growth of political freedom in the latter part of the eighteenth century, a reaction to the yearning for a return to Palestine set in. English Jews had been emancipated in 1753, and in France, the Revolution, through a decree of the National Assembly, September 28, 1791, had given them full rights as free citizens, equal with all men.

In Germany, the poet Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, extolled the Jews and preached tolerance, most notably through his famous play, *Nathan the Wise*. Lessing reportedly took as his model for Nathan, noble Jew of the play, the distinguished writer and philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86). Mendelssohn favored assimilation of the Jew into European culture and emphasized the spiritual aspect of Judaism and the necessity for an Occidental orientation. His philosophic and esthetic writings were widely acclaimed and helped to make him a celebrity consulted by writers and critics. As a successful combiner of Hebraic and modern culture, he is credited with many of the modern trends of nineteenth century Judaism.

True, a fresh interest in the Holy Land was now shown; but Zion was to be cherished as a monument of ancient glory. This new focus on the Land of Israel stemmed from more than merely academic interest: it embraced the desire to improve living conditions for the Palestinian Jews.

2. *Beginnings of Modern Palestine*

In 1832 a quarrel broke out between Mehemet Ali of Egypt and Sultan Mahmud II over the cession of Palestine and Syria as a reward for Egyptian aid in the Greek Revolution. Mehemet Ali sent his son, Ibrahim, to seize the promised areas. Palestine thus became in 1833 a province of Egypt under Ibrahim.

His reign marked the beginning of modern Palestine. Government offices were efficiently administered; Christians and Jews were treated as equals of Moslems; Western merchants, technicians, and scientists were welcomed in Palestine. In 1838, Edward Robinson, the American Biblical scholar, laid the foundation of modern Biblical archaeology. Living conditions of the Jewish population were improved by generous contributions from Sir Moses Montefiore, the Rothschilds, Albert Cohn, and other wealthy Jews. Roman Catholics, as well as the various Protestant denominations, built schools, hospitals, and churches to serve local Christians and the increasing stream of pilgrims.

This period of prosperity and amelioration ended in 1840 when the European powers, fearing an expansion of Egyptian strength, shelled Acre and forced Ibrahim to evacuate the throne. The land reverted to its previous chaotic lawlessness within the framework of the Ottoman Empire.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jewish population of Palestine was at the lowest total for three millennia. In 1827, Jerusalem had less than a thousand Jews; Safad, the most populous community, had at the highest only several thousand.

A dozen years later, conditions had changed considerably. The statement of the first British consul, issued in 1839, reported a Jewish population of about 10,000, with 5,000 in Jerusalem, 1,500 in Safad, and in 750 in Hebron. Sephardic Jews, tracing descent from Spain, constituted the largest contingent.

The Ashkenazi Jews, on the other hand, hailing from Eastern Europe, increased rapidly during the nineteenth century. They added little strength to the community, for they consisted largely of idealistic students and of old people who had come to Palestine to die.

Because of the extreme poverty, foreign aid was absolutely im-

perative, if only to hold body and soul together. This relief took the form of an annual collection in the Diaspora, known as the *Halukkah*. Unfortunately, it was not done efficiently; money-lenders charged high rates of interest and traveling agents demanded exorbitant fees. In 1880, the collections amounted to about \$300,000. Aware of these annual contributions from abroad, the Turkish officialdom had the impression that there was considerable wealth among the Jews and that its exactions should be increased accordingly.

Although *Halukkah* was maintained throughout the century, many observers, both Christians and Jews, recognized it as an unwholesome form of parasitism which could never lead to the development of a sound, self-sustaining community. The miserable plight of the majority of Palestinian Jews called for sympathy and assistance.

Curiously enough, the greatest improvements during the first half of this century came from Christian rather than Jewish efforts. Especially keen was the interest of a number of English groups. The British vice-consulate in Jerusalem was raised to a consulate in 1839; and Mr. Young, the incumbent, was instructed by the Foreign Office to protect the Jews. Other groups had such protection; for example, France tacitly acted as the representative of the interests of the Roman Catholics in Palestine.

James Finn, Young's successor as British consul, knew Hebrew and took an intense personal interest in the welfare of the Jews. His wife was the daughter of the leader of the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. This connection may sometimes have aroused suspicion; but, on the whole, the Finns were a source of great comfort to the Jews, whom they defended and provided with work.

There were, however, a number of altruistic European Jews who were deeply concerned over wretched conditions in Palestine. Among foreign visitors who came to the Holy Land to see the situation at first hand was Sir Moses Montefiore, the cultured and wealthy English philanthropist. He undertook his first pilgrimage in 1827 and, in all, made seven visits. He was appalled at the misery in which his co-religionists lived; he did not rest until he initiated measures for their relief. His plans for resettlement were thwarted

by the Turks, but he was able to build cottages and introduce better agricultural methods. He succeeded, as well, in interesting British and French philanthropists in the cause. One of the latter, Adolphe Crémieux, accompanied him in 1840. His visit led to the founding of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in 1860, the group responsible for the establishment of Mikveh Israel, the first agricultural school in Palestine.

Between 1850 and 1870, Montefiore secured the support of several English societies organized to promote colonization in Palestine. The difficult question was always that of acquiring land. In 1876, Hayim Guedalla, a nephew of Montefiore, negotiated with the Turks for the purchase of the entire area, but failed. The attempt was made repeatedly by other Zionists in the years that followed, but always in vain.

3. *Attempts at Colonization*

The movement for large scale colonization in Palestine developed between 1860 and 1880, chiefly in Central and Eastern Europe. Pioneers were Rabbi Gutmacher of Graetz in Poland, Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer of Thorn in Prussia, and Judah Alkalay. Kalischer argued that Judaism was a national religion which constantly faced dissolution in the Diaspora, and the idea of the Jewish state would, therefore, have to represent the religious purposes and aspirations of its people.

Kalischer in 1860 convened a meeting of rabbis and laymen at Thorn to discuss practical measures for immigration and settlement. He was opposed by the orthodox who maintained that such plans were contrary to the Messianic ideal. Within three years, however, the first colonization society was founded, at Frankfort on the Oder.

In contrast to Kalischer's religious nationalistic approach to statehood, Moses Hess, social reformer and friend of Marx and Engels, and author of *Rom und Jerusalem* in 1862, pleaded for the restoration of Israel in the *political* sense. His arguments were: 1) The Jew will always remain an alien among other peoples; 2) His home and national center is Palestine; 3) There a new, socialistic state, based on Mosaic principles, should be established; and 4) The solution of the Jewish question would aid in bringing about uni-

versal brotherhood. Although scarcely any interest was evinced in his ideas, save for a diatribe from Karl Marx and derision from Reform Jews, Hess was, in truth, the first Zionist. In later years, his book became a Zionist classic, particularly for the Socialist sector of the movement.

4. *English Interest in the Return*

As we have noted, the British consuls in Jerusalem undertook to protect and aid the Jews in Palestine. Through the efforts of Sir Moses Montefiore, the British public as well as their officialdom became aware of Palestine's problems and its magnetic power for the Jewish people. Interest was heightened by a number of factors: the hopes of Christian Millennialists who expected the Second Coming of Christ; the opening of the Eastern Question and the championing of the rights of suppressed nationalities; and, finally, the political desirability of establishing in the strategic Middle East a Jewish state under British protection.

A number of English and American officials organized schemes for the benefit of Jews in the Holy Land. They were in an old tradition. As long ago as the seventeenth century, a dozen publications in England had urged the Return to Zion, mostly on a religious basis. Later, in 1840, Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Ponsonby, then British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (Constantinople): "There exists at present among the Jews dispersed over Europe a strong notion that the time is approaching when their nation is to return to Palestine, and, consequently, their wish to go thither has become more keen, and their thoughts have been bent more intensely than before upon the means of realizing their wish."

More than a generation after this, Lord Palmerston joined with Lord Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli) and Lord Salisbury in supporting Laurence Oliphant's negotiations of 1879 and 1882 with the Porte in Constantinople (Ottoman Turks) for a concession to establish an autonomous Jewish state. In literature, sympathetic interest in the problem was given striking expression in George Eliot's novel, *Daniel Deronda*. She called for ". . . an organic center, a heart and brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defense in the court of nations; as the out-

raged Englishman or American. And the world will gain as Israel gains. For there will be a community in the van of the East which carries the culture and the sympathies of every great nation in its bosom; and there will be a land set for the halting place of enmities."

Similarly, it was Lord Shaftesbury who, in 1854, wrote in his diary: "There is a country without a nation, and God now, in His wisdom and mercy, directs us to a nation without a country."

When it became apparent that the Turks would not permit the founding of an independent state, various British liberals suggested the Sinai Peninsula as a location; but an investigating commission found the land unsuitable for colonization. Chamberlain then suggested a fertile strip of land, about the size of the Holy Land, in Uganda, East Africa, which was to be known as "New Palestine." The presentation of an official memorandum from the British Office split the 1903 Zionist Congress in two. Later on, the Uganda idea was entirely dropped.

British interest continued, however, as was evidenced by the issuance later of the Balfour Declaration, the expulsion of the Turks from Palestine by British arms, and the establishment of the British Mandate over the area.

5. East European Phase of Zionism

The emancipation of the Jews of Western Europe during the nineteenth century and their acceptance in the highest literary and intellectual circles could not help but encourage assimilation. Among cultured European Jews the idea of a return to Palestine was silently repudiated or ignored. When, in 1878, a memorandum was presented by Zionists to the German Reichstag for the re-establishment of a Jewish state, Bismarck commented that it seemed to have originated with persons of unsound mind and was not worth discussing.

Two developments interfered to halt the growing assimilation of Jews into European society. One was the rise of nationalism; the other, the spread of anti-Semitism. The former isolated the Jew as an alien; the latter made his life as a normal citizen unpleasant if not intolerable. There were, of course, fair-minded sensitive Chris-

tians, who deploring this trend, formed societies against anti-Semitism; but they could do little to stem the tide.

Anti-Jewish feeling reached its climax in Russia where the Jews were blamed for the murder of Czar Alexander II. In 1882, violent pogroms broke out, the Cossacks slaughtering and pillaging the guiltless. Of those who escaped, many fled to the United States; others sought refuge in Palestine.

It is not strange, then, that nationalistic feeling should have been rekindled, and that it should become especially strong among the Jews of Eastern Europe. In the 1870's, Perez Smolenskin, the novelist, argued violently against assimilation; he was the protagonist of a national-cultural renaissance. The *Hibbath Zion* (Love of Zion) movement which developed from 1870 to 1880 was reflected in the birth of modern Hebrew literature. Smolenskin, supported by Eliezer ben Yehuda, who stressed the need for Hebrew as the national language, and by Leo Pinsker who wrote the rousing pamphlet, *Auto-Emancipation*, is looked upon as the real founder of the Zionist organization.

The Eastern Jews had a fundamentally practical point of view. Pinsker's "Back to Zion" movement urged the re-establishment of the Jewish nation as soon as possible on Jewish soil. Societies of *Choveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion), encouraging immigration and colonization, sprang up and spread rapidly.

In 1881, a group of Jewish students from Kharkov University toured the country with the slogan: "O house of Jacob, let us go forth." The initials of this phrase in Hebrew spelled BILU; the group became known as *Biluim*. Amid the enthusiasm, Achad ha-Am (Asher Ginsberg), writer and critic, called for a diligent spiritual preparation—a call he repeated many times during his eventful life. Practical measures were immediately taken; in 1882, two groups were sent to Palestine. The first colonies of the Russian Biluim were at Rishon le Zion (First in Zion) and Petah Tikvah. Five settlements were started by Jews from Poland.

Well nigh overwhelming difficulties beset the pioneers. They were unaccustomed to hard physical work, to the malaria-ridden climate, and to almost primitive social conditions; they had to rely chiefly on Arab *fellahin* for the very necessities of life. Their troubles were increased by hostility from the local population, sus-

pitions of the Turkish officials who prohibited the further buying of land, and finally by crop failure. Wretched and miserable, the settlers were on the point of starvation.

The project, seemingly doomed, was rescued from disaster by Baron Edmond de Rothschild. His aid saved the colonies but entirely changed their character. Agricultural experts were sent in. Cheap Arab labor was employed to do the work; and a Jewish "planter class" eventually developed. Bribes were paid to Turkish officials. The fruits and vegetables raised were not consumed but prepared for export. The market was not always good; and more than once the Baron had to buy the entire crop for himself.

This aid, another form of *Halukkah*, was far removed from what the Russian idealists had planned. Not until 1897, and then only through initiative from Western Europe, did Zionism enter a new phase.

6. Theodor Herzl

Strangely enough, West European Zionists were almost wholly unaware of the Russian experiments in Palestine. Less concerned with the practical aspects of colonization, they thought in political and diplomatic terms. Thus the Eastern Zionists came to be known as the "practicals," while the Western Zionists were called the "politicals."

The distinguished leader of the West European Zionists, "the politicals," and founder of the World Zionist Organization, was Theodor Herzl, an Austrian playwright, journalist, and lawyer. Born in Budapest in 1860, he had received an excellent education in Vienna. He was a successful writer, living in a comfortable world of literature and art, but with scant knowledge of his ancestral Hebrew culture. He showed little interest in Zionism, remarking: "The historic homeland of the Jews no longer has any value for them. It is childish [for a Jew] to go in search of the geographic location of his homeland." Gradually, his views changed; and in the play, *The New Ghetto*, he definitely identified himself with Judaism.

In 1894, Herzl was sent as the correspondent of the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* to Paris to report the famous Dreyfus case. The trial seemed of little importance to him and he shared the common

belief that Dreyfus was guilty; but he reacted sharply to the howling mob and the violent demonstrations of anti-Semitism.

In May 1895, he wrote a stirring letter to Baron Maurice de Hirsch on the problem of anti-Semitism. This marked his entry into the field of political action and the beginning of a truly meteoric career. With tireless zeal and energy, he fought for his ideals during the next nine years. Then, completely burned out, he died at the age of 44.

In Herzl's *Tagebücher* (*Diaries*), he set down changing ideas about the Jewish problem. His activity was ceaseless, his correspondence, voluminous. Addressing himself to leading figures in public life, he sent a 65-page pamphlet to Baron Rothschild; a letter to Chancellor Bismarck; a request for an interview to the Duke of Baden; a memorandum to Kaiser Wilhelm II (1896). In fact, he eagerly sought the intervention of the German sovereign, whom he met in Constantinople, Mikveh Israel, and Jerusalem in 1898. "We need a protector . . . and German protection would be more welcome than any other," he said.

At first, the Kaiser manifested interest in the idea of a protector. Later, he displayed an attitude of cautious benevolence, evidently having been influenced by Abdul Hamid and by his Chancellor, von Bülow.

Herzl's book, *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*), published in 1896, argued for a land of the Jews, not necessarily Palestine. After Herzl had visited the Holy Land, he wrote *Alt Neuland* (*Old-New Land*), describing Palestine as he saw it in 1898 and as he imagined it would be 21 years later. It is striking to note how prophetic Herzl's vision was. He envisioned a land of great cities, farms, and gardens; of modern technological processes; a canal connecting the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean; the chemical wealth developed; a cooperative economic order; and relations of peace and amity with the Arabs. Significantly, he omitted any reference to Hebrew as the language of the country.

Herzl had attempted to secure some powerful Western ruler as a protector for the new state; he had also sought to purchase Palestine from Abdul Hamid. Inasmuch as Turkish finances were in a shocking condition (Turkey was called "the sick man of Europe") and the Sultan was under continual pressure from

Western creditor nations, an opportune moment for negotiating an agreement seemed at hand. Herzl offered to effect a liquidation of the debts for a concession in Palestine. The Sultan, however, would admit Jews only as Turkish citizens. He rejected outright any notion of an autonomous Jewish state. To win him over, Herzl had sought a fund of ten million pounds sterling. He met Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Paris in 1896 and broached the subject, but found him, too, unalterably opposed to a Jewish state. Finding his efforts to win over Christian rulers and Jewish philanthropists futile, Herzl decided to organize the masses. With unrelenting vigor, he carried on his campaign in London, Berlin, and Vienna.

A new spirit had entered the Zionist movement.

7. Modern Zionism

On August 29, 1897, the first Zionist Congress met in Basle. Of it Herzl was to say later, with prophetic insight: "If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be: at Basle I founded the Jewish State." Its purpose was formulated by the writer Max Nordau, whom Herzl had gained as an adherent to the cause.

"Zionism seeks a publicly recognized, legally secured home (or homeland) in Palestine for the Jewish people." The means to this end were enunciated in four basic points which remained in force until World War I:

1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organization and unification of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aims of Zionism.

According to this interpretation of Zionism, the Jewish people were a national or ethnic unity. The word itself—"Zionism"—was coined in 1893 by Nathan Birnbaum, a Viennese journalist who,

interested in the cultural aspect of the movement, had organized a meeting of cultural societies in Vienna. Zionist student groups had been formed in Germany and Austria. Zionism had made considerable progress but not until Herzl called the first Congress did it become a well organized movement. It was the brilliant and heroic Herzl who founded and maintained at his own expense a Zionist organ, *Die Welt*. It was he who gave dynamism and direction to the Idea.

Herzl, who in his pamphlet of 1896, *Der Judenstaat*, had projected a Jewish state under the suzerainty of the Sultan despite hostile Turkish laws in 1882 and 1891, now renewed his contacts with the Porte. His efforts met with no success. He refused to give up the idea of achieving the Jewish National Home by personal diplomacy. With tireless energy he tried to reach kings and ministers, bankers and philanthropists. He ruined his health and impoverished his family by extensive travels through Europe and the Middle East. Despite setbacks, he continued to seek a charter from the Turkish ruler for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In May of 1901, he did succeed in getting an interview with the Sultan; but it led to nothing. The idea of an independent Jewish state was flatly rejected.

Twice in 1898, Herzl had audiences with young Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany—once in Constantinople and again in Jerusalem. He pleaded with the Kaiser to become protector of the projected state, or to use his influence with Sultan Abdul Hamid—but to no avail. After the Kishinev pogrom in 1903, Herzl journeyed to St. Petersburg to urge intervention by and help from the Russian government in the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, but likewise with no success.

Herzl's attempts to raise money for a charter were severely criticized by the Russian Zionists. So great had become the despair among the persecuted Jews of Russia and Rumania that the Eastern faction began rebelling against Herzl's diplomatic methods which seemed to bring no results.

A sharp division in the Zionist ranks took place between the "Politicals" who supported Herzl and the "Practicals" who demanded *Gegenwartsarbeit*—that is, immediate colonization of

Palestine and Zionist cultural programs in lands of the Diaspora. The Eastern Zionists were also violently opposed to the acceptance of any territory other than Palestine for colonization.

This issue of an alternative territory led to open revolt at the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basle in August, 1903, when Herzl submitted to the gathering of an offer from Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, to establish a colony of Jews in Uganda, East Africa, under British supervision.

The presentation of this plan caused a furor. Herzl was accused of betraying the Zionist cause. In vain he explained that it was merely a temporary measure. The indignation of the Russian delegates could not be calmed: they withdrew in a body. Herzl obtained a nominal majority, but his real support was gone.

The leader of the opposition was Menahem Mendel Ussishkin, a veteran Zionist, who held a special conference later in Kharkov. There the Uganda proposal was entirely repudiated and a demand was made for greater emphasis on colonization of Palestine. Herzl, who had at first had no appreciation of the fervent attachment to Palestine, was drawn closer to the Russian point of view. He submitted to the demands of the opposition and became reconciled with them, but unfortunately it was too late. The excitement and strain caused by the acrimonious dispute had worn him out. He had sacrificed himself physically and financially for the cause, and on July 3, 1904, at the age of 44, he died of a heart ailment.

His death was a severe blow to the movement. Max Nordau, also an intellectual and a journalist, was asked to act as leader, but declined. Finally, David Wolfsohn, a close associate of Herzl, was elected president of the World Zionist Organization. Wolfsohn, a successful merchant at Cologne, immediately transferred to that city the headquarters of the movement and the editorial office of *Die Welt*.

Wolfsohn, extremely conscientious, cautious, and conservative, suspended all political activity. The first Congress after Herzl's death met in 1905 in Basle. Despite a meeting of the opposition in Freiburg, Wolfsohn was re-elected president.

Although the Zionist movement continued to follow the political program laid down by its founder, Herzl, events in the East stimulated efforts to colonize Palestine. Many young Zion-

ists immigrated after the Revolution of 1905. During these years, the Labor Movement, *Poale Zion*, was organized.

These developments influenced even the conservative groups, so that the Eighth Zionist Congress at the Hague in 1907 decided to establish a bureau in Jaffa and to organize the Palestine Land Development Company.

Opposition to Wolfsohn grew, however; and, in 1911, the Tenth Congress at Hamburg elected Professor Otto Warburg, famous botanist and later Nobel Prize winner, as the new chairman and moved the central office to Berlin.

More emphasis was placed on the colonization of Palestine which, up to that time, had been far from successful. In fact, even the millions of dollars which Baron Edmond de Rothschild poured into a number of settlements seemed to accomplish little. The Rothschild largesse had, it was true, saved them from complete disintegration but it had also changed their character. In many instances, the struggle of the pioneers with malaria, barren soil, unpleasant climate, and constant poverty proved too much. Even the "Lovers of Zion" began to refer to Palestine as a "land of corpses and graves." Only the communities supported by Rothschild money prospered; and, on these "plantations," all the manual work was done by Arabs.

In 1904, a new wave of immigration arrived—young, enthusiastic students and intellectuals of socialist ideology from Russia and Poland who belonged to the *Poale Zion* (Labor Zionist) movement and had little in common with the older, discouraged settlers. They wanted to work with their hands and to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, hoping thus to build up a new form of life in Palestine. Their outlook had been formed largely by the teachings of the founder of the pioneer movement, Aaron David Gordon.

8. Aaron David Gordon

Throughout the nineteenth century, there had been sporadic attempts to establish colonies in Palestine, but with little success. As had already been noted, even the first settlements, begun under the auspices of the Zionist Congress, would have failed had not Baron Rothschild rescued them.

The one man who worked out a sound philosophy for colonizing efforts and set the pattern of enduring agricultural communities in Palestine was Aaron David Gordon. He was the father of *chalutzit* (the pioneer movement of *chalutzim*, the Hebrew word for pioneers).

Gordon was born in Troyanov of Podolia in Russia, in the year 1856. As the only son of well-to-do parents, he was related to the baronial family of de Günzberg. After receiving a thorough academic education, he became the manager of some of his kinsfolk's estates.

Gordon, by nature a frail and gentle man, occupied himself with intellectual pursuits. He read widely and was an accomplished linguist. Though his work was comparatively easy and he lived the comfortable life of a cultured gentleman, he could not help but be deeply disturbed by the character of the Jewish life about him. Prohibited from owning land, the Russian and Polish Jews had been forced into ghettos where they eked out a living as tailors, peddlers, junk-dealers, small tradesmen, or money-lenders. It was an unwholesome social system which led on the one hand to an over-emphasis on money and, on the other hand, to a fanatical devotion to learning and mysticism. Manual labor was despised; farm work was regarded with contempt.

Gordon rebelled against this. He began to write and lecture, stressing the idea of a return of the Jews to the soil. He emphasized the concept of *Am Adam*—a people regenerated through its individuals. Relations with other peoples must be governed by the same moral laws that prevail between a man and his neighbor. Work is based on a cosmic idea that binds man to the entire universe; but above all, it binds a man to the soil of his own country, so that a people can take root in its own land by work.

Gordon stressed the importance of independent, personal action. He did not believe in the liberating power of politics and a political program.

The nobility of his thinking can be seen in his insistence on a loving relationship between mankind and all living things, especially animals. Even the latter were to enjoy the Sabbath rest.

Gordon's philosophical-religious views, reminding one of Albert Schweitzer's gospel of "Reverence for Life," were outlined





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in *Dath Haabodah* (Religion of Work) and formed the basis of the ideology of *Hapoel Hatzair* (The Young Workers). Continually Gordon reiterated the need to begin a national regeneration of the "very source of life"—the land.

"If we do not till the soil with our own hands," he wrote, "it will not be ours. . . . A people which has been completely cut off from nature and for a thousand years confined within the walls of the ghetto, a people that has become accustomed to every mode of life save the natural one—the life of self-conscious and self-supporting labor—such a people will never become a living, natural, laboring people unless it strains every fibre of its will-power to attain this goal. Labor is not merely the factor which establishes man's contact with the land and his claim to the land; it is also the principal force in the building of a national civilization."

At the age of 48, Gordon, now completely fired by his self-imposed mission, gave up his comfortable position, left his wife and children in Russia, and set out for Palestine. This refined, sensitive vegetarian and non-resistant, whose white hands had never known manual labor, determined to seek "redemption through self-toil on the land."

But though Gordon was eager to throw himself into work, the Palestine of 1903 was not eager to accept him as a worker. To his dismay, the champion of a back-to-the-soil trend encountered, even in Palestine, an unnatural, unhealthy social structure. There were about 50,000 Jews in Palestine, some of whom lived in the ghettos of the cities, while others operated plantations on which the work was done by underpaid *fellahin* (Arab peasants). Gordon was not regarded with friendly eyes; his idealism was misunderstood. At length, he secured work as a laborer near Jaffa and then exclaimed: "I feel like a newborn child."

He recognized the unwholesomeness of the plantation system and declared that the return to the land could be effective only if accompanied by the creation of new social patterns "marked primarily by a productive rather than a parasitic system."

He developed his ideas of collective living and, in 1909, induced ten boys and two girls to join him in the Jordan Valley. After a number of false starts, a site not far from the Sea of Galilee was chosen and named Dagania (Place of Corn). Here was founded

in 1911 the first *kvutzah* or *kibbutz* and all later communal settlements were modeled on its pattern.

The situation which the twelve young idealists from Russia faced was far from attractive. On a plot of rocky, blighted land, they expected to raise farm products; in a hostile atmosphere, they planned a new, collective society. Private property was to be abolished, women to be given the same rights and obligations as men, meals eaten in common, and babies reared in a community nursery.

Dagania's first years were filled with disappointment and privation. These young settlers were wholly ignorant of the rudiments of agriculture. Unhealthy climate, barren soil, and hostile neighbors all added to their difficulties.

Still, it prospered. With zeal and enthusiasm the *chalutzim* overcame obstacles. New settlements were thus encouraged; and though the newer collectives have in some measure changed their character, the original *kvutzah* remains.

Quite understandably, this life proved too rigorous for some pioneers. As early as 1921, several members of Dagania rebelled and left the settlement. Since they belonged to a socialistic society, they could take nothing with them; in fact, they lost everything and had to start all over again.

While these rebels accepted the basic ideal of self-toil on the land, they were opposed to sacrificing every vestige of individualism and personal privacy. Others joined the secessionists; and on September 1, 1921, seventy-five families founded the first *moshav ovdim*, in the middle of a swamp in malaria-ridden Emek Jezreel. Called Nahalal (Trail Blazer), it is today a prosperous community.

Here each family was given 26¼ acres of land. Each shareholder was free to build his home, to farm his land as he wished. Forbidden, however, was the employment of labor, either Arab or Jewish.

Yet even this was too extreme for some, and a further modification of the *kvutzah* developed. This was the *moshav shitufi*—a cooperative, rather than a collective, enterprise. This type of settlement, first established in 1936 near Tiberias, has proved highly successful, especially in recent years as European immigrants

found it a unique combination of individual rights and cooperative methods.

Gordon, philosopher of the back-to-the-soil movement, remained true to his original *kvutzah*, Daganía Aleph, where he lived and labored. Never a man of violence, he did not believe in force and would arm himself only with a whistle while on guard duty against Arab adventurers. Calm and serene, looking like a bearded prophet, he passed the autumn of his days among his fellow settlers, faithful adherents to his views. In 1922, he died at Daganía; and there he lies buried, near a museum displaying manuscripts of his works.

His philosophy and design for living had triumphed. Today, over one-fifth of the people of Israel live on the land and till the soil. In 1948, there were 143 *kibbutzim*, 57 *moshav ovdím*, and 11 *moshavim shitufiyim*. Since then, the two latter types have been growing rapidly.

A. D. Gordon's thought resulted not only in a successful type of rural community but laid the foundation for far-reaching activity. His dream of a new way of life for Jews led in 1920 to the founding in Haifa of *Histadruth*, Israel's labor union. It is today the strongest single influence—political, economic, or social—in the whole country. Its ideal: "Labor . . . is the principal force in the building of a national civilization," had been expressed forty years before its founding by Aaron David Gordon, the philosopher of labor.

9. *Eliezer Ben Yehuda*

The cultured and successful Viennese journalist, Theodor Herzl, laid the political foundations of Israel; the sensitive and esthetic Russian, Aaron David Gordon, set the pattern of its social system and labor movement; but it was an ill and penniless Lithuanian, Perlman, who, more than any other, helped give the new state its language: the ancient Hebrew tongue.

The well-to-do Herzl used himself up in nine years; yet the poor consumptive from the Baltic, though he worked ceaselessly, seemed to possess tireless energy, for he lived to be 64. Perlman—or Eliezer Ben Yehuda as he called himself later—was born in 1858 in a small

cottage in Luzhky, Lithuania, where his orthodox parents ran a grocery store.

Since childhood, when he had read a Hebrew translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, he had been keenly interested in that ancient language. He became convinced that Hebrew, then used only by rabbis for religious purposes, should become the daily language of the Jewish people. In Paris, where he had gone to study medicine, he decided that to hold a people together the use of such a common language was as important as the possession of a given piece of land. With enthusiasm, he determined to devote himself to the restoration of that ancient tongue which had begun to die as a living language at the time of the Maccabees. What a tremendous task this would be was pointed out to him by Tshashnikov, a broadminded Polish nobleman who had befriended him.

But Ben Yehuda remained undaunted. Despite opposition from all sides, no sources of personal income, and a dangerous tubercular condition, he determined to go to Palestine. He arranged for Deborah, the distiller's daughter from his native town, to meet him in Constantinople, where they were married. They reached Jerusalem in 1881. The squalor and filth of the Holy City appalled them, but soon they adjusted themselves.

Ben Yehuda overlooked much that he disliked in the social conditions, customs, economic arrangements and orthodox religion of Jerusalem. With a remarkable singleness of purpose, he devoted himself almost exclusively to his task: *the restoration of Hebrew as a living language*. From the start he insisted on speaking nothing but Hebrew. He began a newspaper, *Hatzebi—The Deer*—and organized classes in Hebrew. He lived and dreamed in the ancient but now modernized language of his fathers. When his first child was born, he extolled his wife as “the first Hebrew mother in 2,000 years.” As if it were a matter of life and death, he only permitted those who knew Hebrew to approach the baby. Ben Yehuda's fanaticism in this respect caused many humorous incidents. One day, when Deborah jumped in fright on seeing a scorpion and screamed “Akreb!”, her husband impatiently remarked, “How many times have I told you it is ‘akrab’ and not ‘akreb!’”

His efforts to make Hebrew the language of every-day life were opposed, and often violently, by many groups. The Orthodox con-

sidered his objective a desecration of the Holy Tongue which, for centuries, had been reserved for religious purposes. More secular Jews of recent European origin used their native languages—German, Polish, Russian, Yiddish—and considered the revival of Hebrew both foolish and needless.

Ben Yehuda was not dismayed. In 1887, he returned to Russia and went to Moscow to seek financial aid. While he was away, his wife taught his classes and published his newspaper. On Ben Yehuda's return, he continued his labors, translating English, French, and German classics into Hebrew.

The sudden death of Deborah was a great loss to him. Feeling the urgent need of a mother for his children and a helpmate in his endeavors, he asked her sister, Pola, to come to Jerusalem and there he married her. She, too, knew not a word of Hebrew, but she possessed an alert, active mind and made such rapid progress in learning Hebrew that soon she was able to write articles for *The Deer*. Her husband gave her the Hebrew name Hemda.

Ben Yehuda's energy seemed inexhaustible. Poverty, disease, violent opposition, a growing family—even imprisonment by the Turks—could not keep him from fighting almost single-handed, for his ideal. With the growth of the language, he saw the need for a dictionary. He planned a book of a thousand pages; but when, years later, the work was completed it ran to many volumes. Fortunately, his efforts were not in vain. By 1897, a new spirit had been infused into the intellectual life of the Jewish community in Palestine. Hebrew was becoming a living tongue. The various European schools still maintained their English, French, and German backgrounds; but Hebrew was at least recognized as a language for study.

The World Zionist Movement, initiated by Herzl, received Ben Yehuda's hearty endorsement; and he was elected a member of the First Congress at Basle in 1897. Although he favored the purchase of land for colonization, his primary goal was always the establishment of Hebrew. To this he devoted himself, too, while in London and Paris. In the latter city, he used to work many hours a day in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Nothing could hold him back. His domestic cares were heavy: in twenty years, he had fathered ten children and lost five of them.

Despite his increasingly bad state of health, he worked 17 to 18 hours a day. Tirelessly, he read thousands of volumes in various languages. Over the years, he mastered English, French, German, Russian, Arabic, Coptic, Assyrian, Aramaic, and Ethiopian. He became one of the world's greatest lexicographers.

Sometimes, he spent weeks searching for a new word. He had decided in favor of the Sephardic pronunciation, but there were troublesome questions of syntax and style. He sought to make Hebrew a beautiful language, live, and vigorous. Arabic, a sister language, was a constant source of reference. At home, he accumulated mounds of filing cards and paper.

Having found or created a word, he tried to introduce it in writing and speech. He called his newspaper his "midwife." The general public, he found, was both capricious and conservative, for sometimes it readily accepted a new word, then again firmly resisted it. Humorous references were often made by the Palestinian Jews to "Ben Yehuda's word factory."

Usually, he tried out a new word on his family. Sometimes, it spread; many times, it did not. He was unsuccessful, for example, in substituting *badurah* for *agbanit*, the commonly used word for "tomato." And only his children attended a *midrashah*; the neighbors' youngsters went to a gymnasium—the same school.

To interest others, Ben Yehuda founded an academy: *Vaad Halashon*. This helped little; in fact, it created more dissension. Meanwhile, his mountains of papers and cabinets of cards grew apace; he had enough material for four volumes of the dictionary. Even his bankers were impressed and gave him a loan.

During a visit to Berlin, where he had gone to consult specialists for his health, he was so deeply impressed by the schools that he sent his oldest son, Ben Zion, to that city. Soon the young man became a correspondent for a Paris newspaper.

Although his wife, Hemda, was overwhelmed with household duties—she had recently given Ben Yehuda his eleventh child—she was equally enthusiastic about her husband's philological labors and even journeyed to Berlin to arrange with the House of Langenscheidt for the publication of the dictionary.

It was a momentous occasion for Ben Yehuda when work began on his *magnum opus*. He himself set the type, beginning signifi-

cantly with the first word *av*, "father." The scholarly detail of the work was exhaustive. The word *chi*, "because," occupied 24 pages and 335 ways of using *lo*, "no", were illustrated. Equivalents were given in French, German, and English; references were provided in Arabic, Assyrian, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin.

The arrival of the first printed volume stirred Ben Yehuda more than the arrival of any of his eleven children. The fourth volume, which like the first three had been printed in Berlin, was dedicated to the Jews of that city.

The publication of the dictionary was a milestone in the revival of Hebrew. Although the language had been increasing in favor, it was not yet universally accepted in Palestine. When German was proposed as the language of instruction in the Technikum (Technical Institute) at Haifa, a veritable war broke out all over the land. Teachers went on a strike, the German schools were closed, German schoolbooks were burned. Eventually, through the efforts of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., United States Ambassador to Turkey at the time, peace was restored. German schools were reopened, but Hebrew was retained as a school subject. Soon it became the sole language of instruction in the Technion—as it is now called.

In 1914, the fifth volume of the dictionary appeared, "dedicated to the Jews of London." In the same year, Ben Yehuda and his family went to New York to meet his prosperous brother, Jacob Seydel. He found that the Main Library at 42nd Street and the Congressional Library in Washington were treasure-houses for his research.

By 1917 a national homeland of the Jews appeared to be emerging. With the entry of the United States into World War I, events moved swiftly. On November 2, 1917, the Balfour Declaration was issued by Lloyd George's cabinet. On December 11th General Edmond Allenby drove the Turks out of Jerusalem and then doffing his hat in reverence, led his troops through the Damascus Gate into the Holy City.

Ben Yehuda continued his scholarly labors with unflagging zeal. On his silver wedding anniversary, he had a new manuscript ready and laid plans for eight volumes of Hebrew classics. In February 1919, he returned to Jerusalem.

Palestine was now a British mandate. High Commissioner Sam-

uel announced three official languages: English, Arabic, and Hebrew. Ben Yehuda may have seemed fanatical in his devotion to Hebrew, but had always been more than broadminded in other respects, especially in his friendship for the Arabs with whom he hoped a reconciliation might be possible.

He was spared the bloodletting, the strife, and bitterness which came later, for in 1922 he died. He was working on the word *nefesh*, "soul", when his ardent spirit departed from his weakened, pain-wracked body.

Ben Yehuda left enough material for eleven posthumous books. Family, friends, and associates completed the other volumes. By 1951, thirteen volumes of 600 pages each had been printed.

Hebrew is today the language of Israel. A rich literature of poetry and prose has developed; countless newspapers, magazines, and reviews are published. Its scientific vocabulary has been so expanded and developed that all the latest achievements of technology can be expressed in it. Hebrew is studied throughout the world. In New York City, over 5,000 pupils in the public high schools are enrolled in Hebrew classes.

The tongue of Abraham and Isaac, of Moses and Aaron, now recovered, has been enriched, enlarged and beautified. That this is so is largely the achievement of one tireless, dauntless, and zealous scholar—Eliezer Ben Yehuda.

IV

The Struggle for the Homeland

1. Foreign Interests in Palestine

THROUGHOUT the nineteenth century, Palestine had been subject to various influences from abroad, all of which helped shape the destinies of the local population. The government was Turkish; schools, missions, churches, and hostels were Christian enterprises; the settling and building up of the land was a Jewish endeavor.

Although the 400-year Turkish suzerainty may be accurately described as one of misrule, occasional reforms were undertaken. Abdul Hamid, who had ascended the throne in 1876, insisted on an honest and efficient administration and had shown special concern for the fair treatment of the Christian minorities lest some European government intervene.

For a long time, foreign powers manifested a deep interest in Palestine. The French, whose relations with the Holy Land went back to the days of Godfrey de Bouillon, continually sought to extend their influence. Besides France, other powers—Austria, Spain, Italy, and Germany—aided various Catholic orders in the country. Originally, only the Franciscans had been the representatives of the Latins in Palestine. After the Crimean War, however, several other groups built convents, seminaries, and schools. Jesuits established a Bible Institute in Jerusalem and founded the University of St. Joseph in Beirut. Dominicans built a convent in Jerusalem. By the end of the century, the Catholic Church had thirty

orders, twenty convents, eighteen hospices, six higher schools, forty-six schools, and five hospitals. The Catholic institutions received their support in large measure from various governments.

The Protestant churches, on the other hand, had to depend on voluntary contributions. The outstanding Protestant institution was the American College, now University, in Beirut, established a year before the Jesuits' St. Joseph University. Emperor William II donated the beautiful Catholic Dormition Church, a less pretentious Lutheran church, and the fine Hospice of Augusta Victoria in memory of his wife.

Unfortunately, bitter rivalry for privilege ensued among the various church groups. Christian bodies outbid each other to secure rights to Holy Places and adamantly opposed any expansion of the influence of their rivals. The Anglican Church, whose bishop at first represented also the State Church of Prussia, caused a dilemma by zealously promoting closer relations with the Orthodox and other Eastern Patriarchates.

The Russians established their center at Jerusalem, erecting a vast compound overlooking the walls. They extended their authority over other sites visited by their pilgrims and bought up large tracts of land throughout the country. In an effort to expand the influence of the Moscow patriarchate, they fell into conflict with the Greek faction in the Orthodox Church; the latter's powerful Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre regarded itself as an outpost of Greek culture. From 1872, the struggle continued with a succession of embarrassing expulsions of patriarchs, excommunications, seizures of property, and, finally, intervention by the Turkish authorities.

The ceaseless rivalry of the religious organizations brought about a curious development, for small Palestine soon possessed more churches, hospices, schools, hospitals, and asylums than any other country in the Middle East. These many institutions were the achievement of a small Christian minority among the population.

Toward all this activity the Moslems were indifferent. The Turkish government did practically nothing to improve health, educational, and social conditions, for its major interest was the collection of taxes. Life among the Moslems remained as it had

for a thousand years: wealthier Arabs lived in comfort in the towns, the bedouin continued to roam the desert, and wretched *fellahin* toiled in the sun-baked fields to eke out a miserable existence.

The institutions promoted by the foreign groups caused the people as a whole to benefit from improved medical services and from the extension of educational opportunities. A marked increase in security was brought about by protection of European consulates. Local Christians were able to challenge the supremacy of Greek nationalism in the Jerusalem patriarchate. Shrines, once abandoned or destroyed, were now restored.

An Arab renaissance stimulated a reaction against the attempt of the Young Turks between 1908 and 1914 to impose a Turkish education on the Moslem population; but the majority of the Mohammedan natives—the peasants and the bedouins—were little affected by these trends.

A more active community life among the local Jewish population led to attempts to free themselves from the parasitical system of *Halukkah*. Under the impetus of Zionism and increasing insecurity in Eastern Europe, a renewed wave of Jewish immigration took place. The population of the various holy cities—Jerusalem, Safad, Tiberias, *et al.*—grew considerably. The land was now dotted with new settlements whose members made the land productive and who created a new social, political, and economic life in the country.

2. *The Outbreak of World War I*

With the outbreak of the World War in Europe in 1914, the *Yishuv* (Jewish Community) of Palestine seemed doomed. When Turkey hastened to support Germany, the future for the Jews indeed looked dark. Djemal Pasha, the Governor of Syria and Palestine, had the foremost Zionist leaders arrested. The young pioneers, David Ben-Gurion (later Prime Minister of Israel) and Yitzhak Ben-Zvi (later to succeed Chaim Weizmann as President) were deported: they found haven in the United States. More than ten thousand Jews were expelled because they were not Turkish citizens. On January 21, 1915, a decree was issued that all

Zionist stamps, flags, and insignia were to be destroyed, and all Zionist organizations disbanded.

The invasion of Palestine in the spring of 1916 by the Egyptian Expeditionary Force caused Djemal Pasha to intensify his persecution of the Jews. Many were executed on the suspicion that they sided with the British.

Actually, a considerable number of Jews outside of Palestine fought on the Allied side. Vladimir Jabotinsky, brilliant journalist and orator, aided by Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi, organized the Jewish Legion. This volunteer army became three battalions of the Royal Fusiliers; and units of the "Judeans," as they were called, took part in the final phase of the war at Es-Salt under General Allenby in September of 1918.

Capt. Joseph Trumpeldor organized the Zion Mule Corps for the British Army in 1915. Consisting of 650 members, it participated in the famous Gallipoli campaign. Trumpeldor met his death in 1920 while defending Tel-Hai in Upper Galilee against marauding Arabs.

The volunteers in the Jewish units were recruited in the United States and Canada, as well as in England. British Zionist leaders concentrated their efforts toward effecting the establishment of a Jewish state. Throughout the war such men as Menahem Ussishkin, Yechiel Tchenov, Nahum Sokolow, and Dr. Weizmann carried on negotiations with the British government.

Finally, in February of 1917, the Foreign Office expressed its readiness to accept the aims of the Zionists, provided the Allies gave their consent. Thereupon, Dr. Sokolow, "the diplomat" of the movement, was sent to secure the approval of the French and Italian governments and of the Pope. The French were reluctant to give consent; but the government in Rome and the Vatican gave their blessing. Pope Benedict XV said: "Jews and Catholics would be good neighbors in Palestine."

Through the mediation of Louis D. Brandeis, Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Dr. Stephen S. Wise of the American Jewish Congress, and Professor Richard Gottheil of Columbia University, an expression of approval was also obtained from President Woodrow Wilson, although the United States had not yet entered the war.

3. *Rival Claims*

With the defeat of the Turks, the question arose among the victors as to the future of their empire. The emancipation of suppressed peoples from Turkish rule and the advancement of the Arabs was generally accepted. The Zionists assumed that Palestine would be ceded to them with possibly some minor opposition from nationalist Arabs. The situation was not, however, so simple. In addition to the interests of the Moslem population, there were those of the British, the French, the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church, and the various Protestant denominations. The major factor, however, was the Arabs.

Arab nationalists envisioned a united empire which would restore the glories of the Caliphate. They failed to realize that Arab cultural ascendancy was a thing of the past; that there was now a complete absence of political unity, social tradition and economic cooperation among the various Moslem peoples; and that they lacked both political experience and political acumen to establish an enduring government.

Christian interest in Palestine was non-political; it was centered in the Holy Places of which France, the Vatican, and Russia were the guardians. This concern expressed itself not so much in a desire for control but rather in an attitude of opposition to any power or influence which might interfere with maintenance of the shrines, churches, and schools.

The French were interested mainly in Syria. Their tradition went back to the Crusaders who had led the movement to recover the Holy Sepulchre. French language and culture played an important role in the Middle East. In view of British control of Egypt, France, an imperial power, wanted to rule Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine.

Britain, nurturing her relations to India and cherishing her oil interests on the Persian Gulf, desired a good naval base along the Mediterranean coast, possibly at Haifa.

In addition to the frankly imperialist designs of Britain and France, there was another factor: the new concept of a European trusteeship of oppressed peoples. Guidance was to be given the

inexperienced leaders of new nationalisms lest their newly-founded nations be still-born.

The large contingents of British troops in the Middle East and growing English influence there made it inevitable that the British were primarily confronted by the problem of Arab nationalism. In order to use the full force of Islam, Turkey and Germany had hoped to have the struggle declared a *jihad* (holy war). When this was proposed to Hussein, sherif of Mecca, he sent his son, Feisal, to explore the possibilities.

This move resulted in an interesting correspondence with Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, between July 1915 and March 1916. Arab claims were presented and cooperation with the British was outlined. When the Arabs laid claim to one million square miles, which comprised the Arabic-speaking world of Asia, McMahon attempted to exclude certain regions which were not entirely Arabic. According to later statements, particularly an historic letter to the *London Times* of July 23, 1937, McMahon said he intended to exclude Palestine. Unfortunately, that crucial area had not been mentioned in the original documents; in fact, the wording was so vague that it led to varying interpretations and considerable controversy.

The British tried also to provide for French claims in Syria and Lebanon. The Arabs agreed to waive further discussion of the matter until the end of the war; but the British felt they had to come to an understanding with their Allies and therefore entered into the Sykes-Picot Agreement with the French. This unhappy arrangement divided up the Arab world—without the consultation and consent of the Arabs—and gave the French, whom the Arabs disliked most, two choice areas: (a) Syria, to become an Arab kingdom under French protection; (b) Lebanon, to be a French possession. The British were to have Haifa as a naval base; and southern Palestine was to be under an international administration, after consultation with the sherif of Mecca and the Christian powers.

This secret agreement leaked out in 1917, when the Bolsheviks revealed it to the Arabs. For the British, relying on Arab cooperation, the disclosure caused great difficulties. The Arabs were not bent on cooperation, as the British learned to their great cost, both

politically and financially. Britain fed, armed, and paid mercenaries who were far more interested in their own liberation than in a victory for their Allies.

4. *The Zionist Stake in Palestine*

Since the war's beginning, discussions had been going on in London with Zionist leaders at the very time British officials in the Middle East were negotiating with the Arabs. The Zionist demand that all Palestine be recognized as a Jewish state seemed extreme to some Ministers in the British Cabinet. The Jews, they argued, were politically inexperienced: furthermore, there were non-Jewish interests in Palestine. As the war continued, however, and its outcome became more uncertain, the British government became eager to gain the support of world Jewry. The validity of the historic Jewish interest in Palestine was therefore recognized and the extension of the settlement of the country considered legitimate.

On November 2, 1917, a most significant statement, the famous Balfour Declaration, was issued. This brief but momentous document consisted of a letter written to Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild by Arthur James Balfour, British Foreign Secretary. The "declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," which had been approved by the Cabinet, stated:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Publication of this letter evoked enthusiasm and joy among Jews throughout the world. Balfour became a modern Cyrus. Among the Arabs it provoked some outbursts of bitterness and resentment. Although the document was a general and somewhat ambiguous statement, it did recognize the existence of a historic Jewish right in Palestine. It did not, as opponents asserted, "take the land away from the Arabs," for the British had already dis-

counted the Arab claim to exclusive ownership of that country; furthermore, Arab hegemony was established in a half dozen other lands totaling more than one hundred times the area of Palestine.

Only the extremely nationalist Arab faction, however, was aroused. When the contents of the document were communicated to Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, that monarch agreed warmly and said he welcomed Jews to all Arab lands. Even as late as 1931, his attitude toward Zionism remained friendly.

Realizing that Arab feelings must be considered, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the Zionist Commission, conferred in Palestine, in April 1918, with Emir Feisal, Hussein's son and heir. They signed a treaty of friendship on January 3, 1919. In it the Emir expressed friendly interest in the establishment of a homeland for the Jews and approved plans for large-scale immigration and settlement in Palestine, provided the Arab population was not adversely affected.

Events appeared to be proceeding smoothly when the Zionist representatives at the Peace Conference received a rude jolt. They were shocked to learn that, as early as 1915, Britain's High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, had come to a secret understanding with the Grand Sherif of Mecca. Although Palestine was not mentioned in the agreement, the Arab delegates at the Peace Conference insisted that it had been included. The Arabs were likewise, as we noted in section 3, incensed by the Sykes-Picot Agreement with France. Hussein's request for an explanation elicited a diplomatic reply from the British agent at Jeddah who reiterated promises of Arab liberation. Wilson's Fourteen Points, published in January of 1918, also assured the nationalities under Turkish rule of their opportunity for autonomous development. Despite such assurances, the Arab nationalists were aroused. To assuage their fears a number of pronouncements were issued. On November 7, 1918, a joint Anglo-French Declaration of reassurance to the Arabs was issued by the Military Command and widely publicized in Syria. Although its idealistic language recognized the claims of the Moslem majorities, responsible Arab leaders remained suspicious.

Chiefly they feared that the Balfour Declaration might lead to a

Jewish majority in Palestine; and they were further incensed by Winston Churchill's statement that, in that event, the "Jews would take over." Feisal, who had been conciliatory to the Jews, found himself no longer recognized as spokesman of the extremists. While he was concluding his historic agreement with Dr. Weizmann, a group of Arab notables in Jerusalem completely rejected the idea of the establishment of a Jewish national home and the separation of Palestine from Syria. In December, 1920, the Third Palestine Arab Congress, consisting of Moslems and Christians, rejected Jewish claims to a place in the country. This rejection was not only unfortunate; it was also quite unsound, for it rested on the false assumption that Palestine was exclusively an Arab country. The Arab claim to Palestine was further weakened by the fact that not their efforts but largely British efforts had liberated its population from the Turks.

The Anglo-French Declaration had announced the intention "to secure impartial and equal justice for all"—that is, to give recognition to Arab as well as to Christian and Jewish claims. This generous attitude was based on the hope that the parties concerned would come to an amicable understanding.

5. The British Administration, 1918-1930

Even had there been no Zionist movement to channel the centuries-old desire of the Jews for the recovery of Palestine, Christian religious interests in the Holy Land would have necessitated a special political arrangement for the area. Countless churches, convents, monasteries, and hostels built in past centuries lay in ruins because of Moslem hostility.

Although, at most, the Christians wanted merely the right to maintain their sacred sites under any regime, the Jewish claim to immigration and settlement inevitably aroused Arab fears. Christians in Palestine were little concerned in the restoration of a Jewish commonwealth and they failed to establish any new relationship to Islam. Their indifference served to sharpen the contrast brought about by the growing Jewish settlement in the land, which seemed a very real threat to the local Arab population. There were those British officials, as well as Zionists, who thought that, in time, all differences would be amicably solved. Even those,

however, who hoped for a cooperative endeavor by Jews and Arabs and the eventual emergence of a new community, could not foresee that Palestine shortly would become a haven of refuge for tens of thousands of Jews fleeing from persecution in Europe.

On the whole, British officials in Jerusalem had no appreciation of the Zionist ideal. They were irked by the Jews' interpretation of the Balfour Declaration. To them, the Jews were merely another minority in the land; and that this minority possessed a different tradition and was on a higher level of civilization than the indigenous population only complicated matters.

That Jewish interests were to be especially safeguarded was evidenced in the spring of 1918 by the arrival of the Zionist Commission led by Dr. Weizmann. Acting with sanction of the British Government in its endeavors to implement the Balfour Declaration, the Commission began by repatriating the Jews who had fled to Egypt and by establishing the communal life of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine). In July 1918, the first stones of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus were laid.

Meanwhile, the Peace Conference had come to a decision regarding the various occupied territories. Palestine, like several other parts of the Arab world, was placed under a mandate. In San Remo, a British civil administration in Palestine was set up.

Palestine was separated from Syria—a great step forward toward the establishment of the Jewish National Home. As long as Palestine was part of an Arab territory of a million square miles and ten million inhabitants, the Jews would remain a minority. In the small area of Palestine, however, with only 650,000 Arabs, the possibility of an ultimate Jewish majority was obvious. This made the Arabs apprehensive; and the fact that the first British High Commissioner in Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, was a Jew, did not allay their fears.

Riots broke out in Jaffa, and the Palestine Arab Congress sent a delegation to London to protest. To reassure the Arabs, Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, issued a White Paper which disparaged the idea "to create a wholly Jewish Palestine" and asserted that the Balfour Declaration had envisaged not a conversion of *all* Palestine into a Jewish National Home, but the founding of such a home *within* Palestine.

In other words, the British expected a society to develop in which both Jews and Arabs would live side by side. It would be a bi-national state. Possibly, later on, the Jews would be in the majority.

The Jews accepted this statement; the Arabs rejected it.

The text of the mandate, assigning Palestine to the British, was published in 1922 and went into effect in the autumn of 1923. This document showed a decided preference for Jewish claims. The Arabs were referred to as a minority, although they were not such at that time. The Balfour Declaration was quoted in full, but no allusion was made to promises given the Arabs. Terms were stated for the setting up of a Jewish Agency with wide powers. The only major concession to the Arabs was the exclusion of Transjordan from the area in which a National Home might develop.

This latter restriction, however, was a profound disappointment to the Zionists. On the other hand, the Arabs saw themselves crowded out by the superior numbers and wealth of the Jews. The mandate was bound to intensify the feelings between the two groups.

The administration itself was weakened by the fact that it took orders from London and from the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Its authority was reduced, too, because both the Jewish and Arab communities retained autonomy in a number of spheres. Education was their concern and their religious courts had considerable power in communal life. There was no central governmental authority to which loyalty was required. Indeed, the Jews looked to the World Zionist Organization for direction and not to British officialdom in Jerusalem.

One of the greatest problems confronting British officials in Palestine was the restoration of land productivity. Despite constant soil erosion, ever-present poverty, the ravage of disease, and the depredation of raiding Bedouins, marked progress was apparent during the first decade of the Mandate.

6. Immigration and Settlement

Quite clearly, the term "national home" had been made ambiguous with deliberate intent. It was a compromise between those

British Ministers who favored establishment of a Jewish State and those who opposed it. Even Churchill, asked for an interpretation, had said that it meant "the further development of the existing Jewish community."

Despite the ambiguity of the Balfour Declaration, the Zionists counted on its being sanctioned by the Allied Supreme Council. They were eager to proceed with large-scale immigration to Palestine and settlement of the land. A Zionist Commission headed by Dr. Weizmann was authorized to negotiate with the British Government; in 1921, this Commission became the Zionist Executive.

The war had reduced the Jewish population of Palestine from 100,000 to 50,000. Thousands had left the country; others had succumbed to disease and even famine. As soon as the war ended, a new wave of immigration came from Europe. Between 1918 and 1925, some 60,000 immigrants entered Palestine. In the ten-year period, 1925 to 1935, more than 84,000 arrived. The influx caused a rapid growth in Palestine's urban population; within a short time Tel Aviv and Haifa became bustling cities. Shops were opened, factories were built, and new dwellings arose.

The more significant activity was that of the *chalutzim* or pioneers on the land. In the agricultural settlements the ideal of the "Lovers of Zion" was being realized. In the eighteen years after the announcement of the Balfour Declaration, i.e., 1917 to 1935, more than 100 new settlements had been set up throughout the country.

The *chalutzim* were, for the most part, young, energetic men and women, who sought a redemption of the land through self-toil. They fell into various political and religious groups, ranging from socialists (belonging to *Poale Zion*) to the orthodox Mizrahi adherents. Between were the middle-class General Zionists.

As in every migratory movement, however, there were also those who came for economic reasons. Many entrepreneurs and shopkeepers, who had been driven out of Poland, began to arrive after 1924. Some built up new business enterprises; others engaged in land speculation, creating a boom in real estate.

Fundamental, however, was the development of Palestine's agricultural resources. This return to the soil had been the age-old dream of thousands of Jews all over the world. Each year they had dropped their modest contributions in the blue collection boxes of

the Jewish National Fund to help redeem Palestine by purchasing its land and reforesting its hillsides.

The conquest of the soil attracted groups of idealistic young men and women who went to Palestine to colonize it by means of cooperative settlements. It was truly a conquest, for it meant making arable blighted areas that had been abandoned as unprofitable. It meant a constant battle against malaria, drought, and crop failure. The settlements on the border were exposed to frequent attack by marauding bands of Bedouins; thus the settlement often became a military outpost. Beginning with the collective *kvutzah* or *kibbutz*, of which the first was established, as we have noted in 1909 at Daganian, by Aaron David Gordon, various types of agricultural colonies were founded, developing at length into the cooperative *moshav*. The land, to belong in perpetuity to the Jewish people and to be leased by the Jewish National Fund, was to be used, not abused.

Through the energy and enterprise of the *chalutzim* not only was wasteland made productive, but products raised in ancient times were restored and new ones introduced. Most successful was the cultivation of citrus fruits in the central coastal plain. Before the outbreak of World War II, fifteen million cases of oranges, grapefruit, lemons, and tangerines were exported annually. Grapes, plums, apricots, bananas, dates, figs, and almonds were also raised.

Fortunately, it was soon discovered that, contrary to general belief, Palestine possessed sufficient water resources for irrigation. In more recent years, careful hydrological and geological studies have strengthened the expectation that, within the foreseeable future, even the entire Negev desert (half of Israel's territory) will be turned into a fruitful area by irrigation. An underground water storage system is being planned with eight systems of irrigation canals; when completed, every part of the country will be supplied with sufficient water.

The cultivation of the soil, the reforestation of the hills, the founding of innumerable settlements, and the introduction of new industries proved beneficial also to the Arabs of Palestine. Many found steady employment. Their standard of living was raised. Malaria stations run by Jewish doctors extended their services

to the Bedouins and Arab city dwellers. Jewish settlers became friendly with their Arab neighbors and learned their language.

But Arab nationalists frowned on fraternization. The Mufti of Jerusalem (Moslem religious leader in Palestine), Haj Amin el-Husseini, inflamed Arab passions by asserting that the Jews planned to steal their land. He inspired campaigns of arson, bombing, and killing by nationalist terrorists. The British Mandatory Government, never too friendly to the *Yishuv* and anxious to placate the Arabs, did little either to prevent attacks or punish the offenders.

It had been the expressed policy of such foremost Zionists as Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff, the labor leader of Palestine, to promote friendship with the Arabs. The Arab rank and file would undoubtedly have been won over with little difficulty, had it not been for the hostility of the privileged *effendis*—the land-owning class. The latter realized that the modern, progressive Jewish community threatened the ancient feudal system by which they held the *fellahin* (ignorant Arab peasants) in serfdom. These wretched creatures, ravaged intermittently by hunger and disease and barely keeping body and soul together, dwelt in primitive mud-huts. Their *effendis* feared that contact with the Jews might well open their eyes to their plight. In fact, the cheap labor market was being undermined by the better wages paid by the Jews. To maintain their vested interests, the *effendis*, under the Mufti's leadership, determined to drive the Jews out of Palestine.

The campaign of terrorism, which began in 1920, reached its height in 1929 when the entire country was convulsed by rioting and over a hundred Jews were killed. There had been a period of unemployment, and the Arab leaders did not hesitate to place the blame on the Jews.

The incident which touched off the rioting was, however, a religious one. A demonstration by the Jews at the Wailing Wall provoked a counter demonstration by the Arabs. The news of the riot led to massacres of Jews throughout the land, especially in Safad and Hebron.

When the agricultural settlements were attacked, the story was different; there the Arabs were met by staunch resistance. They found that the Jews could and would defend themselves. The British, taken somewhat by surprise, had great difficulty in coping

with the situation and restored order only after much loss of life. London, aroused by the extent of the upheaval, appointed a commission under Sir Walter Shaw to investigate.

The Shaw Commission found the fundamental cause of the disturbances to be Arab resentment against the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The Commission recommended that Jewish immigration and land purchase be restricted, and that British policy, with regard to the future of the country, be clarified.

Another inquiry made by Sir John Hope Simpson linked Arab unemployment with Jewish immigration and asserted there was no spare land for further Jewish settlement until there had been a reform in Arab land holdings.

Much to the chagrin of the Jews, the British Government accepted the report and issued a White Paper decidedly unsympathetic to the Zionists. The greatest shock for the Zionists was the implication that the Jews were an immigrant minority who were not to interfere with the desires and needs of the majority.

The White Paper brought about a crisis among the Zionists. Dr. Weizmann resigned from the presidency of the World Zionist Organization and many other prominent members also retired.

Amazed by the emotion it had aroused, the British Government tried to smooth things over. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald wrote Dr. Weizmann, assuring him that the White Paper did not signify the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration. This served to console the Jews somewhat, but it enraged the Arabs.

The situation had worsened. Within the next few years, the Mandate became progressively weaker and more difficult to administer. Finally, it broke down completely.

7. Henrietta Szold

Among the countless selfless men who helped lay the foundations of Israel, it is difficult to determine who made the greatest contribution. When one attempts to evaluate the services of the women who toiled to restore Zion, there is little difficulty: one alone overshadows all others. She is Henrietta Szold. Strangely enough, Miss Szold attained the zenith of her accomplishments during the latter half of her long life of 84 years. In fact, not until

she was fifty did she distinguish herself outside her home town of Baltimore; at sixty, she became an acknowledged leader in American Zionism, and, at seventy, she was in the vanguard of those who were building up Palestine.

Henrietta Szold, born December 21, 1860, in Baltimore, was the daughter of Rabbi Benjamin Szold who had come from Germany. Of Hungarian birth, Rabbi Szold and his wife were deeply attached to the German culture of the age of Goethe. On the writings of that great poet and the words of the Hebrew prophets, Benjamin Szold built his philosophy. "Judaism is not only a faith or creed, but a way of life," he used to say. "You cannot have Judaism in full flower unless you have a normal life in which you illustrate your Jewish principles."

Benjamin Szold was that happy combination, an intellectual who was also a man of action. His passion for human rights impelled him at the age of 19 to fight on the barricades in Vienna during the Revolution of 1848 and to support emancipation of the slaves during later years in America. His interests were primarily scholarly, however, and he was delighted when a call came from a congregation in Germany; but an older colleague asked him to go in his place to the United States—to Baltimore, where a rabbi was needed. Szold was not eager to leave Europe and to venture into a strange land in the turbulent New World; but he made the sacrifice. In 1859, he arrived in Baltimore; and the next year, Henrietta, the first of eight daughters, was born.

From her father, Henrietta inherited a brilliant mind and a noble heart; from her mother, a deep sense of personal responsibility and executive ability. It was her father who gave her a thorough grounding in Hebrew, the German classics, philosophy, history, and the Bible; it was her mother who taught her to cook, bake, sew, and embroider. Because of this training, she was a second mother in the large household and helped to bring up her seven younger sisters.

The Szold family was a happy one; love predominated in a home modest in material things but rich in cultural treasures. The rabbi's limited means did not permit him to send Henrietta to college. Her formal education ended with her high school graduation. But from her earliest years, she engaged in activities

which gave her excellent preparation for her later work. As her father's secretary, she learned to correspond and keep records. After graduation, she taught for fifteen years in a girls' private school. Her major subjects were English, French, German, algebra, and botany. Saturdays and Sundays, she conducted classes in Bible and Jewish history in her father's congregational school, and as Baltimore correspondent of the *New York Jewish Messenger*, she had an opportunity to write articles about Jewish life.

Despite these many intellectual activities, Miss Szold took a deep interest in nature; botany was her one great hobby. Her childhood and youth were happy, serene, and comfortable.

Her peace of mind was shocked when one day, she accompanied her father to the port of Baltimore to welcome refugees from the Russian pogroms. So deep was the impression made on her by the tragic fate of the Jews that she determined to devote herself to a solution of the problem. Through contacts with the refugees, some of whom found a haven in her father's home, she became an ardent believer in Zionism. With a group of Russian refugees, she organized the first Zionist society in Baltimore in 1893.

Noting the difficulty with which her new-found friends adjusted themselves to American life, she made plans to help them. With remarkable foresight she organized evening classes in English, American history, bookkeeping, and dressmaking. The modest student fees were insufficient to maintain the enterprise; she enlisted the aid of a Hebrew literary society and other public spirited groups. The institution that Henrietta Szold thus founded was one of the first evening schools for immigrants in the United States; later it was taken over by the City of Baltimore.

Although entirely without pedagogic training, Henrietta Szold was an inspiring teacher. Again and again during her long life, she faced problems for which she had no formal training, yet solved them because of her superior native intelligence.

She relinquished her school duties in 1893 to become editor of the Jewish Publication Society of America which she had already served for five years. Her duties involved editing, translating, indexing, and proof-reading. She was eminently fitted for this sort of work, for she possessed an admirable literary style, a command of Hebrew, French, and German, and an unusually broad general

knowledge. In addition, she possessed tireless industry and meticulous scholarliness. She was instrumental in translating and publishing many important works on Jewish history. It is strange that she never wrote a book of her own.

When Rabbi Szold died in 1902, Henrietta, as his literary executrix, determined to edit his manuscripts for publication. To prepare herself for this task, she took courses at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, meanwhile maintaining all her other activities. The modest walk-up flat on West 123rd Street in which she lived with her mother became a literary salon where professors and students gathered—attracted by her charm, her learning, and her warm and inspiring interest in everything about her.

However, her father's manuscripts were never published. Stirred by increasing fervor, she was drawn into such active participation in the Zionist movement that she had to give up her scholarly pursuits. At the request of Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, she undertook in 1907 to train a group of girls who were members of a Zionist study circle.

Although Miss Szold had taught and written about Palestine, she had never been there. The opportunity to visit the Holy Land came in 1909 when her health broke under the strain of work and she decided to take a vacation. Friends predicted that her first contact with the wretched conditions in Palestine might cause her to give up her Zionism. Though shocked by what she found, the trip only strengthened her determination to remedy the situation. She said: "The result is that I am still a Zionist, that I think Zionism a more difficult aim to realize that I ever did before, and finally that I am more than ever convinced that if not Zionism, then nothing—then extinction for the Jew!"

The immensity of the task made her exclaim: "If I were twenty years younger, I would feel that my field is here." She was only fifty then; at sixty, her real leadership in Zionism reached its pinnacle.

Upon her return to the United States, she plunged into active participation in the work; in 1910, she became the secretary of a committee to sponsor an agricultural station in Palestine, in addition to her official duties as secretary of the Federation of American Zionists. Although she continued to lecture, she sought im-

patiently for opportunities to act. "Let us stop talking," she exclaimed, "and do something!"

The opportunity for her greatest contribution to Zionism had arrived. After months of planning, a meeting was called on February 23, 1912 in the old Temple Emanu-El in New York. A new society was to be formed with a two-fold purpose: to establish a system of district visiting nurses in Palestine and to foster Zionist education in America. Henrietta Szold was elected president. The group called itself Hadassah after Esther in the Bible—meaning "the healing daughter of my people"; this had also been the name of the study circle formed as a nucleus for the new organization. It began with less than forty members; today it has 300,000, and is the largest women's organization in Jewish life.

In founding this society, Henrietta Szold demonstrated her remarkable qualities as leader and organizer.

Again, it should be pointed out that despite her exacting duties in connection with Hadassah, Miss Szold continued to earn her own living. Not until 1916 was she relieved of this necessity by friends, some of whom, for fear of Miss Szold's frail health, counseled complete retirement from active work. At the age of 55, after twenty-three years of service, she resigned from the Jewish Publication Society.

For most women, this would have been the closing chapter of a lifetime career. But Henrietta still had nearly thirty years before her; she was to develop in the last third of her long life a resourcefulness and creative power which were the envy of many a younger person.

In 1916, the World Zionist Organization appealed to American Zionists to send medical help to Palestine. Under Miss Szold's leadership, Hadassah undertook to organize an American Zionist Medical Unit for Palestine.

Again and again, she was called upon to weld new groups into shape. She headed the educational department in the newly formed Zionist Organization of America. It was, however, the Zionist Medical Unit that engaged her major attention. In 1920, she was again in Palestine, travelling up and down the country and making a detailed study of health conditions. One of the most serious problems was the prevalence of malaria, which decimated the

pioneers. Miss Szold noted not only the deplorable sanitary facilities, but also the miserable economic plight of the population. Nor did the difficult Arab-Israeli relations escape her; and to that problem, she gave considerable careful thought over the next quarter century.

The Medical Unit she had helped to organize rendered valiant service. In the absence of the director, Miss Szold directed the work in the hospitals, clinics, laboratories, and nurses training schools. These services developed so rapidly that the Temporary medical unit was converted into the permanent Hadassah Medical Organization of today.

In 1923, Miss Szold returned to the United States. She planned to devote the rest of her life to Hadassah. However, the Zionist Congress of 1927 elected her—the first woman to be so honored—to the Palestine Zionist Executive. She was placed in charge of Health and Education. Again, at 67, she was faced by seemingly insuperable obstacles. The country was in the throes of an economic depression; a dole had to be paid to thousands of unemployed workers; the director of the Hebrew school system had resigned in protest against a severe cut in the budget. The situation was complicated by the strife of Zionist factions with conflicting educational aims. Henrietta Szold was not discouraged and she achieved remarkable results despite tremendous odds. In one instance alone, for example, she singlehandedly saved the kindergarten system by personally raising their budget.

She was equally effective in the Health Department which had control over the sanitary inspection of rural settlements, the care of chronic invalids, the building of hospitals, and the examination of immigrants. A constant battle was fought against malaria, typhoid, and dysentery. Miss Szold helped to coordinate the activities and urged the government to enact a compulsory health insurance law.

In 1929, she was elected to the Executive of the newly formed Jewish Agency for Palestine, but resigned some months later and returned to the United States. Fatigue had apparently overcome her, for now she was approaching the Biblical three score and ten. It seemed as if, at long last, she was to enjoy the peace and quiet of a serene old age. But, in 1931, the call came to organize

the health and education services which were to be transferred from the Jewish Agency to the newly-formed Knesset Israel. She accepted. To friends and family, she said, "I go back."

Not only did she carry out her assignment with skill and efficiency, but she entered an entirely new field with "temerity," as she expressed it. That was the establishment of a central bureau of social work. This entailed not only centralizing many welfare agencies—a difficult task in itself—but also convincing the people as a whole that modern social service was a remedy for social maladjustment, no less important than industry and colonization.

With the aid of many volunteers, she built up a system of social service bureaus and corrective institutions. She tackled the problem of juvenile delinquency. Through her initiative the first social workers school was established in Jerusalem. With remarkable fortitude she traveled up and down the land; neither the hot winds of the summer nor the cold rains of the winter deterred her. Even the "disturbances"—the armed attacks by Arabs on the Jewish settlements—that convulsed the land from 1936–1939 failed to deter her. Courageously, she set forth on perilous missions in unescorted vehicles.

As she grew older, it seemed, if possible, that her responsibilities and her contributions to Zionism increased. She was still organizing social services when her supreme contribution was made in the founding of *Youth Aliyah* (Migration).

When, in 1933, throngs of refugees from Germany arrived, Miss Szold made life possible for destitute immigrants by undertaking a drive for them in Palestine. After attending a conference in London to discuss ways to meet the situation created by the Nazis, she went to Berlin "in the interest of the children." She helped plan the transfer of adolescents to Palestine. Two months later, she was again in Jerusalem, providing for the German children and, at the same time, continuing her social service enterprises. She was then 74, vigorous as ever, but aware that her heart was beginning to ail.

The task of transplanting thousands of German youth was a herculean one. It involved far-reaching administrative, political, social, and educational problems. Not only had these young people to be transported to a distant land, but they had to learn a new

language and be introduced to the spiritual and cultural heritage of Jewish life, a domain of mind and spirit to which many were strangers. Miss Szold, heading the Youth Aliyah Bureau in Jerusalem, quickly prepared a practical, efficient program. It provided for a two-year work-study apprenticeship in an agricultural settlement. Studies comprised Hebrew, Jewish history, and literature; practical training included all types of farm activities. The success of the plan can be seen from the fact that of the 13,000 adolescents transferred to Palestine in 1945, 10,000 were graduated from Youth Aliyah and, of these, 7,000 are engaged in agriculture and industry.

Miss Szold maintained a close personal relationship with thousands of her wards. She welcomed many on arrival in Haifa and, accompanying them to the settlements, saw they were properly cared for.

In her last years, Miss Szold devoted herself almost exclusively to the plight of the child in Palestine. On December 21, 1941, her eighty-first birthday, she set up a Children's Foundation (*Lemaan Haya'eled ve-Hano'ar*) and turned over to it sums of money she had received as birthday gifts at various times from Hadassah and the Palestinian community. This system of communal guardianship for the children was named for her after her death. For her the children's fund was as important as the Jewish National Fund.

The motive power that animated all of her efforts was the belief in the perfectability of mankind. Like all who devote themselves so devotedly to a great cause, she denied herself not only physical comforts in her old age, but also desires that lay close to her heart. One of these that was never to come to fruition was to return to her beloved family in the United States.

Henrietta Szold was one of those magnetic personalities to whom thousands are drawn and whom no one leaves without going away stimulated and enriched. Her seventieth, seventy-fifth, and eightieth birthdays were widely celebrated in Palestine and in America. They were virtually public holidays in Palestine, particularly for the children. With the genuine modesty of great souls, she fled from public honors. In fact, when national Jewish institutions in Jerusalem insisted on a public reception, she consented on the condition that the three speakers confine themselves to reviewing, not her life, but the development of the last eighty years in Zionism.

When eulogies from all over the world were heaped on her, she confessed that she was more conscious of the things she had failed to do than those she had done.

Her amazing achievements were widely recognized. In 1940, the Women's Central Congress named her one of the world's hundred outstanding women of the century.

Her death in Jerusalem on February 13, 1945 evoked tributes from every corner of the earth, for Henrietta Szold, one of the noblest women of modern times, was a blessing to hundreds of thousands.

V

Zionism Victorious

1. *Conflicts with Arabs and English*

RECOGNIZING that the British government would not provide adequate protection against Arab attack, the Yishuv planned its own defense. It could recall that following the 1929 riots, the League of Nations issued a sharp reprimand to the British for their inept handling of the situation. The *Yishuv* shortly therefore built up a people's militia—a defense force—the *Haganah*—which by 1936, included 25,000 men.

A system of outposts consisting of tower and stockade settlements along the frontiers was rapidly established. The sections were constructed beforehand and then loaded into trucks which proceeded to the site selected. There, Haganah members stood guard, the little fort was swiftly erected. By nightfall, it was finished; and from the top of the tower, a search-light sent its beams into the darkness.

Arab hostility increased during the 1930's when immigration of German refugees added 60,000 to the Jewish population of 200,000. Since the new arrivals included many doctors, technicians, scientists and scholars, the cultural life of the *Yishuv* was immeasurably enriched. At the same time, some twenty new agricultural communities were also established. While this influx of highly trained Europeans hastened the development of the Jewish Na-



"Israel Office of Information"

Nazareth residents go to the polls



Kfar Nahum—Ruins of ancient Synagogue

tional Home, it aroused reactionary factions among the Arabs, especially among those who had, it was reliably reported, received money from the Nazi and Fascist governments to undermine and ultimately destroy the *Yishuv*.

What the Jews feared came to pass. A campaign of Arab terrorism began in 1936 and continued until 1939, obviously under the direction of the Mufti, Haj Amin el-Husseini, and the Arab Higher Committee.

Unable to check this, the British appointed the Peel Commission to look into the situation. In July 1937, that body declared the Mandate unworkable. It recommended the partition of the country between the Arabs and the Jews. The latter were to have the coastal plain, the Emek and Galilee. All Holy Places were to be under British protection.

The announcement of this plan led to increased Arab terrorism. Angered by the open display of defiance, the British ordered the Mufti arrested and the Arab Higher Committee outlawed. The Mufti escaped to Lebanon from where he continued to direct the terrorism in Palestine. The British took a major step: they placed Palestine under military law.

In May 1939, London announced a compromise solution. It published a White Paper, according to which 15,000 Jewish immigrants were to be admitted annually for five years and land purchased by Jews was drastically curbed. This was a severe blow to Zionism. Thousands of refugees fleeing the Hitler terror were prevented by the British from reaching the haven of Palestine. In the harbor of Haifa, 260 lost their lives when their ship, the *Patria*, exploded; and 768 were drowned in the Black Sea when their unseaworthy vessel, the *Struma*, not permitted to land, foundered and sank.

2. *The Fighters for Freedom*

Vladimir Jabotinsky, an active Zionist, founded a separatist "New Zionist Organization" in Vienna in 1935. He also formed the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* (National Military Organization). His aims were direct and drastic: to expel the British from Palestine, to subdue the Arabs, to bring a million Jews into the Jewish homeland within a year, and to establish a Jewish state on *both* sides of the

Jordan. After the White Paper of 1939, his policy became one of "illegal immigration." Although Jabotinsky died in August 1940, the organization he founded continued, although older Zionists were repelled by the Irgun's extreme political aims and terrorist methods. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, comprising representatives from established Zionist groups, cautioned self-restraint and non-violence; but the White Paper of 1939 had aroused the *Yishuv*. There was considerable sympathy, albeit much of it mute and even inarticulate, for the direct methods of the *Irgun*.

Even more violent than the Irgun was the Stern Group, a secret band under the leadership of the young poet, Abraham Stern. These extremists began terrorizing the British with assassination, bombing, and kidnapping. Their brutality shocked the *Yishuv* and alienated public sympathy.

But the Jewish community gave enthusiastic support to the policy of illegal—or "unauthorized"—immigration. Thousands were smuggled in from ships anchored off the coast. Members of the Haganah often risked their lives to bring new arrivals ashore. By 1947, over 113,000 "illegal" immigrants had entered Palestine.

The British authorities did all in their power to halt the influx. The legal quota of 15,000 was suspended; the Jewish Agency was rebuked for its "lawless" conduct and community after community, suspected of harboring "illegals," was fined. Coast patrols were increased and man-hunts for illegal entrants were carried on relentlessly, entire towns being placed under martial law and citizens imprisoned in huge cages while individual searches went on. It was inevitable that as the bitterness increased, the Haganah at times collaborated with Irgun and Stern in guerrilla raids on British installations.

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 had brought about a truce. The *Irgun* ceased its terrorist activities; and 30,000 Jewish volunteers served with distinction in the British armed forces, notably with Wavell and Montgomery.

In 1944, a renewed Arab outburst of violence rent the country. The Irgun and the Sternists (who called themselves Fighters For Freedom) instigated a reign of counter-terror. British officials were kidnapped, some assassinated; police were attacked; banks were robbed to secure funds. The three-cornered fight of Arab terrorists,

Jewish actionists, and British reached a climax when the Irgun blasted the British Mandatory offices in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on July 22, 1946. Although a warning was telephoned to the British to evacuate the hotel, they disregarded it; and the ensuing explosion killed 80 British employees (40 were Jews) and wounded 70.

In retaliation, Lieut.-General Sir Evelyn Barker issued an order forbidding British troops in Palestine from buying in Jewish shops. He added the sarcastic comment that the boycott would punish "the Jews in a way the race dislikes as much as any and where it would hurt them most; by striking at their pockets and showing contempt for them."

This statement and action dismayed the Yishuv. The Jewish Agency immediately repudiated the terrorist activities of the Irgun and Sternists. Dr. Weizmann called on his people to cut out the "cancer in the body politic of Palestine Jewry." Both the Agency and the Haganah cooperated with the British in tracking down members of the two terrorist groups—a move that stirred deep feelings among Jews in Palestine and abroad who were bitter about British anti-Zionist measures.

3. *Partition*

Law and order had almost ceased. Palestine was virtually paralyzed. The British, vexed, distraught, bewildered, could neither disarm nor restrain the combatants. Finally, the British government announced to the United Nations that it had found the Mandatory System to be unworkable. A United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was appointed and then assayed the battling problem anew; in the fall of 1947 it offered a majority report calling for the partition of Palestine. The General Assembly agreed on a partition plan for separate Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem to be an international city. Since the UN plan assured them a legal state, the Jews accepted the UN resolution despite its territorial limitations. The Arabs, however, rejected partition and unleashed a storm of new violence throughout the land.

In accordance with the announced policy, British troops were quickly removed from Palestine. On May 14, 1948, Lieut.-General

Sir Allen Cunningham, British High Commissioner, boarded a British naval vessel at Haifa and relinquished the Empire's rule in the Holy Land.

The British Mandate of twenty-six troublesome years was ended.

4. *Israel Reborn*

On the day General Cunningham departed, a new era began. In the Tel Aviv Museum, members of the National Council of Jewish Palestine listened to David Ben-Gurion read a Declaration of Independence—and the first sovereign Jewish state in 2,000 years was established. It was to be known as *Medinath Israel*. Almost at once the United States granted *de facto* recognition and the Soviet Union accorded it both *de facto* and *de jure* recognition. A provisional council of state was elected. Dr. Chaim Weizmann was elected the first president; and David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister.

The new state was born in the midst of unrest and turbulence. As soon as the partition plan had been announced on Nov. 29, 1947, violence had ensued. Arab bands and Jews had clashed, although the Haganah had practiced *havlagala*, i.e. self-restraint.

A Palestine Commission had been sent by the United Nations to take over the administration of the country as soon as the Mandate terminated on May 14th. This Commission was to supervise the formation of the separate Arab and Jewish states; but the British authorities refused to cooperate and the Arabs continued their campaign of violent protest.

5. *Arab Versus Jew*

During these crucial months of the winter and spring of 1948, the situation grew increasingly critical. War was imminent. Anticipating a sudden attack, the *Haganah* on March 9, 1948 issued a call for all able-bodied men between 17 and 45.

The Arabs had already seized most of Old Jerusalem and laid siege to the New City. The Jews trapped in the Old City held out bravely, defended by Haganah and Irgun units. The road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem was mined by the Arabs. In order to help Jerusalem, armed convoys of trucks with food and supplies were

dispatched to the beleaguered city. It was a perilous undertaking; all the roads of Palestine were patrolled. The British, helpless, told the Jews to stay home.

However, the Jews were determined to open the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road. On April 2nd, they finally succeeded by capturing Mount Castel, an important hill commanding the road. In northern Galilee, an army of Iraqi and Syrian volunteers was defeated by two Haganah battalions.

The Arab population of Palestine, apathetic and suppressed, and caught between the struggle, was filled with consternation. Their leaders urged them to fight the Jews, whom they accused of fanatic atrocities. A tragic incident seemed to lend truth to these accusations. On April 9, 1948, an unauthorized surprise attack was launched by the Irgun and Sternists on the Arab village of Deir Yassin. More than 250 men, women, and children were killed. The Arab radios broadcast horrible details of the "massacre." In vain did the Jewish Agency express "its horror and disgust at the barbarous manner in which this action was carried out."

The consequences of this act were entirely unexpected. Instead of rousing the Arabs to retaliate, tens of thousands began pouring out of the villages in a panic flight. A miserable mass of humanity glutted all the highways. Most of them suffered untold hardships; a number perished along the way. Between 600,000 and 800,000 Palestinians fled across the border—"driven out" asserted the Arabs; "leaving of their own accord," said the Jews.

6. *War*

When the independence of Israel was announced on May 14, 1948, the armies of seven Arab states, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Egypt, invaded Palestine. The troops numbered about 35,000.

The Haganah, which had been transformed into the Defense Army, mustered some 20,000 men and women. Since the Arab states were numerically superior and better equipped in the beginning, they hoped for an easy victory. However, the patriotic fervor of the Israelis, the excellent training many had received in the Allied armies and the possession of modern technical skills gave

the Israel army a great advantage. Arms and ammunition were imported from abroad, chiefly from Czechoslovakia, and at exorbitant cost. Within a few months, the Israeli Army had become an effective fighting force.

The Arab invaders, badly led and lacking strong motivation, were easily repulsed. Only the British-trained Arab Legion of Trans-Jordan proved efficient. It made a determined effort to capture Jerusalem, and on May 18, 1948 besieged the Old City. Latrun, along the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway, was seized; Lydda airport and Ramleh were captured by the Arabs (recaptured later that summer by the Israelis). Old Jerusalem was cut off completely. After ten days of bitter fighting, the Jewish defenders surrendered.

The Israelis then built a new road to Jerusalem which they called "The Road of Courage"; they thus by-passed Latrun. Convoys bearing food and medical supplies were sent to the New City to relieve the 90,000 Jews besieged there. On June 11, the siege of New Jerusalem was broken.

7. Victory

Count Folke Bernadotte, UN mediator, ordered a four weeks' truce. When the truce ended, fighting was resumed, but only sporadically.

November 18, 1948, Israel accepted the UN Armistice Resolution. However, the Egyptian Army continued attacking Jewish settlements in the southern Negev and dropping bombs on Tel Aviv.

The Israeli Army was dispatched to the Negev. After ten days of fighting, it captured Beersheba, the strategic gateway to the Southern Desert.

On January 7, 1949, the Supreme Council of the UN issued a cease-fire order to Israel and the Arab states. Seeing the uselessness of the struggle, King Abdullah of Jordan had decided the previous summer to withdraw; but the Arab League had insisted on continuing the struggle. Realizing their ineffectiveness, the Arab states finally entered into true negotiations with Israel.

Negotiators from the Egyptian and Israeli Armies met with Acting UN Mediator Ralph Bunche on the Island of Rhodes. Truce

terms were agreed upon on February 22nd. Israel signed separate agreements with Lebanon on March 23rd; with Trans-Jordan, on April 3rd; and with Syria, on July 20th.

The war was over. The State of Israel found itself with a much larger territory (8,050 square miles) than the Partition Plan had given it (6,200 square miles) and it insisted on retaining this increase won in bitter fighting from the invaders.

Israel had finally triumphed over its enemies. Peace—which it had sought so long—peace, which it needed so badly for its development—was at last more than a promise.

8. *Chaim Weizmann*

Israel's first president was born November 27, 1874 in Motele, near Pinsk, Russia. After a traditional Jewish religious schooling, at the age of eleven he entered the gymnasium of Pinsk. During these formative years he heard and read a great deal about Zionist hopes and aspirations. Early in his life he developed a deep attachment to the Hebrew language and to Palestine.

Having a scientific bent, he took up the study of chemistry. He began his work at the University of Darmstadt and transferred later to Berlin. Progress in his chosen field was rapid. At 22, he had already made a notable contribution to the knowledge of chemical dyes. He followed his instructor to the University of Freiburg, Switzerland, where he received his Doctor of Science degree in 1900. Then he accepted a position at the University of Geneva where, for four years, he lectured and engaged in research.

There he met Vera Chatzman, a medical student, whom he married in 1906. Two sons, Benjamin and Michael, were the fruit of this union. Michael was killed in 1944 while on a flying patrol with the British Royal Air Force.

Dr. Weizmann's interest in Zionism kept pace with his scientific progress. He became particularly interested in the colonization of Palestine. Twenty-three years old when Herzl's "Jewish State" appeared, Weizmann had been greatly impressed with Herzl's arguments for an international organization to promote the establishment of the Homeland. He had toured Russia, urging Zionists there to elect delegates to the World Zionist Organization. He

himself was elected to that body. In 1901, he organized the Democratic Zionist faction, a middle-of-the-road group. Whereas Herzl was interested primarily in diplomatic and political relations, Weizmann saw the need for training colonists, developing the economic resources of Palestine, and promoting Jewish culture. He was never an extremist, however, and recognized the value of both "politicals" and "practicals."

In one instance only was he utterly uncompromising. That was in 1903 when the British Foreign Office suggested Uganda in Africa as a suitable territory for the Jewish homeland. Herzl was ready to accept the plan; Weizmann opposed it strenuously. The plan was decisively defeated.

In connection with the promotion of Jewish culture, he proposed the creation of a Hebrew University. Such an institution of learning in Jerusalem was approved in 1913 and fulfilled in 1918 shortly after the Balfour Declaration had been announced, when Weizmann himself laid the cornerstone for the first building on Mount Scopus, overlooking Jerusalem.

In 1904, Weizmann had gone to England to lecture at the University of Manchester. There he experimented with the fermentation of starches. He succeeded in perfecting a method for the artificial production of acetone, a major ingredient of TNT. Weizmann's scientific attainments played a great part in the diplomatic successes of the Zionist leaders, for his remarkable work during World War I enabled him to render an important service to Britain. The large-scale production of acetone, making possible the production of enormous quantities of TNT, contributed in no small measure to the Allied victory. When Lloyd George later asked him what recognition he desired, Weizmann declined on his own behalf and replied instead: "I would like you to do something for my people." With his unusual gifts of persuasion, tact, and charming personality, he pleaded the cause of Zionism.

Among a group of influential Jews and non-Jews, he built up a strong public opinion in favor of the restoration of the Homeland. Although not a member of the World Zionist Organization at the time, he did receive its official support. The administration in Copenhagen entrusted the promotion of Zionism in Allied countries to Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow and Yechiel Tchenov.

By 1916, Weizmann's researches in chemistry were so notable that Winston Churchill appointed him Director of the Admiralty Laboratories. The Zionist cause, too, was making progress. On November 2, 1917, the Balfour Declaration was issued. In April 1918, Weizmann headed an officially authorized Zionist Commission to Palestine, empowered to advise the military administration in all matters relating to the Jewish population. In 1919, he went to the Peace Conference in Paris to plead the Zionist cause.

Chaim Weizmann had now become the indisputable leader of Zionism. In 1920, he was the president of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization; a year later he became president of that body, a position he held till 1931, and then again from 1936 to 1946. He helped to establish the Jewish Agency for Palestine and organize the Palestine Foundation Fund.

Throughout the difficult years of the Mandate, Weizmann maintained his faith in Britain. Whereas Ben-Gurion became impatient and later embittered, Weizmann urged moderation. Through his cooperation with the British, he hoped to modify the severity of some of the measures initiated against the *Yishuv*. He had also gained the confidence of his adherents; in 1947, he was the Jewish Agency's delegate to the UN special Committee on Palestine. In accordance with his policy of conciliation, he accepted the Partition Plan.

When the Jewish State was proclaimed, Weizmann, then in New York, was elected president. On February 17, 1949, he took the oath of office in Israel; on November 19, 1951, his second term began.

Despite countless activities in behalf of Zionism, he continued his scientific endeavors. In 1939, when World War II broke out, he was working on the development of artificial rubber. He visited the United States to play a key role in the U.S. Government's synthetic rubber program. He promoted the expansion of the Sieff Research Institute in Rehovoth—a splendid scientific institution that has since developed into the Weizmann Institute of Science. In his later years, he was plagued by ill health; but, even from his sick bed, he carried on his scientific researches and government duties. On Nov. 9, 1952, he died at his home in Rehovoth and was buried in the beautiful grounds attached to the Institute.

The State of Israel is his lasting monument.

9. *David Ben-Gurion*

The first president of Israel was an even-tempered scientist who avoided extremes; the first prime minister of the new state was an intransigent trade union leader who refused to yield an inch.

David Gruen, later named Ben-Gurion, was born in Plonsk, Poland, in 1886. After completing his secondary education, he studied law at the University of Constantinople. A fellow student was King Abdullah. Interested from early youth in labor, Ben-Gurion became a journalist and trade union leader. With Tobenkin and Raskin, he founded a branch of *Poale Zion* in Poland in 1903.

Equally deep was his interest in the idea of Zion restored. In 1906, he came to Palestine as a *shomer* or farmhand. A year later, he helped found the *Poale Zion* of Palestine and became its leader. He labored tirelessly for the spread of his ideas and served as one of the editors of *Haachdut* from 1910 to 1915. Expelled from Palestine at the outbreak of the first World War, he went to the United States. There he was active in behalf of the American Jewish Congress and became one of the organizers of the Jewish Legion, in which he served from 1918–1920. Strangely enough, his first Foreign Minister, Moshe Shertok (later Sharett) served on the other side as a subaltern in the Turkish Army.

During a two weeks' leave in London in 1917, Ben-Gurion had an opportunity to observe British life during the war. He was impressed by the quiet dignity and courage of the average Englishman; but he was shocked by what he saw in the Jewish quarter of Whitechapel. He came to the conclusion that the *Galuth* (exile) had a deleterious effect on the character of the Jewish people.

Much as he admired the British in England, he felt that they behaved differently in Palestine. Indeed, his early admiration later turned into implacable, often bitter opposition. Nevertheless, he appreciated the role that the British played in the Middle East and cooperated fully against the Axis and the Hitlerite terror against the Jews. Even when British authorities caused widespread suffering by keeping out Jewish refugees, Ben-Gurion kept the main objectives in mind: "We will fight the war as if there were no White Paper, and we will fight the White Paper as if there

were no war." He continually hoped for a change on the part of the British government, especially when the socialists assumed power after the war. When it was apparent that under Labor there would be no change, and that Zionist claims were being rebuffed, Ben-Gurion spoke bitterly of English perfidy.

From 1920 he continued his activities in London in behalf of *Poale Zion*. From 1933 on, he was a member of the executive committee of the World Zionist Organization. In 1940, he became its chairman, serving at the same time as chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Writing, speaking and organizing filled his busy public life, but he also had broad intellectual interests. At 45, he taught himself ancient Greek; and during the stormiest periods in Palestine, he read Greek classics, and as he was fond of observing, gained perspective thereby. He had grown with the years: from a union leader he had developed into a national leader. He was deeply influenced by Churchill, whom he admired, but he lacked the English statesman's sense of humor.

Although primarily a man of action, Ben-Gurion realized the importance of Zionism's cultural bases. One of his great contributions was a volume entitled *Eretz Yisrael*—an historical, geographical and economic treatise on Palestine. He also translated from German into Hebrew Werner Sombart's *Socialism in the Nineteenth Century*.

When the British retired from Palestine in April of 1948 and the Jews were asked to give up their outposts, Ben-Gurion refused. Absolutely no retreats, he ordered—a policy which, in view of the overwhelming forces of the enemy, seemed suicidal. But, due in great measure to his indomitable will, the order was successfully carried out. The *Palmach*, a force of 2,000 men, led by the farmer's son, Yigal Alon, was able to defeat the far greater Arab forces.

Ben-Gurion's day of triumph was May 14, 1948. On that Sabbath eve, the 5th of Iyar, 5708, the members of the National Council met in Tel Aviv. At four o'clock, Ben-Gurion stood up, dressed in a blue lounge suit. Flanked by twelve fellow-members of the new Jewish state, he read aloud the Declaration of Independence of Israel. When the reading, which took seventeen minutes, was over, many in the assembly wept. They sang *Hatikvah*, the

hymn chosen by the First Zionist Congress as the national anthem. The ancient benediction was repeated: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who has kept us in life and preserved us and enabled us to reach this season." With profound emotion, the members of the Provisional Council affixed their signatures to the Proclamation. As everyone left the hall, Ben-Gurion remarked proudly to one of the observers: "You see, we did it!"

Two days later, the Council elected Chaim Weizmann its president, and Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister.

The effect of Israel's Proclamation of Independence on the *Yishuv* and on Jews throughout the world was electric. Harry Levin, living in beleaguered Jerusalem, wrote in his diary:

"So the lamp snuffed out nearly 2,000 years ago was relighted today. A miracle as great as any that ever happened in this land. The war may be only starting. But we are our own masters in our own land."

With courage, vigor, and intelligence, Ben-Gurion helped to pilot the new state through the political Scylla and Charybdis of the next five years. At the height of his career, to the great surprise of all, he resigned from his post at the age of 67 to retire to a pioneer settlement, Sdeh Boker, in the desolate Negev. There the former prime minister lives with his wife, Paula, in a mustard-colored, pre-fabricated house, and takes an active part in the community's daily life. Ben-Gurion retired, he explained, because: "I have been attracted by two interests which I have been unable to indulge because of the burden of public affairs: working on the land and reading books."

An insight into the profound character of this unusual man is gained from his words: "This life as a simple citizen and laborer has its benefits not only for the person himself but perhaps also for his country. After all, there is room for hundreds, thousands and even millions. And the destiny of the state is in the hands of the many rather than of a single individual. There are times when the individual feels he should do those things which only can and should be done by the many."

Soon, however, he tired of this lonely life and returned to Jerusalem to become Minister for Defense.

VI

Eretz Israel

1. *Geography*

ISRAEL is a small country. Shaped like an arrowhead—the head being the triangular Negev—its greatest length is 260 miles and its greatest width 70 miles. At one point, its eastern frontier is only ten miles from the Mediterranean, which can be seen on a clear day from any of the higher mountains. With an area of some 8,050 square miles, Israel is smaller than New Hampshire.

An inspection of the map will show an irregular boundary on the north separating Israel from Lebanon and Syria, with a neck of land reaching up to Metulla and ancient Dan. Running south, the frontier includes all of the Sea of Galilee except the northeastern shore.

Above the lake, the Jordan River is entirely within the state of Israel; south of it for some distance that stream separates it from the Kingdom of Jordan.

The Israeli boundary then runs irregularly west and north around Samaria; turning south, it does not run east again until it reaches Latrun. Jerusalem is in the extreme corner of a peninsula which juts out from Israel, but which leaves most of Judea under Jordanian control. Only the lower half of the Dead Sea belongs to Israel. The tapering Negev is wedged in between Jordan and Egypt and comes almost to a point at the Gulf of Aqaba.

Despite its small size, Israel contains within its narrow limits the varieties of topography of a continent. There are mountains,

plateaus and plains; verdant valleys and desolate deserts; an extended coastline and three lakes; the pleasant breezes of the temperate zone on the heights and the oppressive heat of the tropics in the lowlands. Israel presents such extremes in altitude and depth as the hills of Galilee which rise to 4,000 feet and the Dead Sea, 1,292 feet below sea-level—the lowest spot on the face of the globe.

There are, however, a number of distinct areas. Along the Mediterranean is the coastal plain. Further east are the mountains. Beyond them is the valley of the Jordan with its swift-flowing stream. The mountains are split by the Valley of Esdraelon or Emek Jezreel. The heights north of the Emek Jezreel are the mountains of Galilee; those to the south are the hills of Samaria and of Judea. The hills of Galilee, the foothills of Samaria, and part of the hills of Judea are in Israel; most of the latter's rugged area belongs to Jordan.

The southern half of the country consists of the entirely barren Negev, populated and settled centuries ago by the Nabateans and only now being gradually reclaimed.

Israel possesses three lakes: Lake Huleh, the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. Its most distinctive and historic waterway, however, is the River Jordan. Rising in the Syrian mountains, 3,100 feet above sea-level, it drops—Jordan means "Descender"—to within seven feet above sea-level, when it reaches Lake Huleh in Upper Galilee. It flows through the Lake and, eleven miles further on, it rushes down to the Sea of Galilee, 682 feet below sea-level. After flowing through the Sea of Galilee, the stream continues its course through a deep valley until it enters the Dead Sea. There it reaches the lowest spot on earth, 1,292 feet below sea-level.

Lake Huleh, smallest of the three lakes, is set in an area of soft hills. It is only four miles long and three miles wide. On its shores grow papyrus reeds, favorite haunts of wild geese and ducks. Despite its gentle aspect, the region is treacherous, for there is a 15,000 acre swamp which breeds malaria. A huge drainage project has been undertaken to provide arable land for 2,000 new farm units. Water for irrigation will be available, and the peat of the swamp will be used for fuel and fertilizer. Upper Galilee is quite fertile; more than 30 agricultural communities are to be found in that region.

The second lake through which the Jordan River flows is the Sea of Galilee. Locked in the embrace of stern and stony hills, it is a clear, blue expanse of water in the shape of a harp, which is the meaning of its Hebrew name, *Kinneret*. Thirteen miles long and eight miles wide at its broadest point, from ancient times it has been a favorite of the Jews; to Christians it is sacred as the scene of the ministry of Jesus and the Sermon on the Mount.

In his time, its waters bordered a palm-shaded shore on which were situated busy and prosperous cities. Josephus calls it "an immense garden of incomparable fertility." The lake yielded tons of fish; the fertile land produced wheat, barley, olives, grapes, figs and pomegranates. The ten throbbing towns of the region were known as Decapolis. They boasted Roman amphitheaters, Greek temples and Jewish synagogues. Tiberias possessed a city-wall, a citadel, and a palace. Capernaum was the customs station through which passed the caravans from Damascus to Egypt.

Today much of the area is barren. Of the ten cities, hardly a stone exists; Magdala is but a drab, poverty-ridden collection of Arab mud huts. Proud Capernaum, in which Jesus did much of his preaching, is reduced to broken stone. A group of Franciscan friars have pieced together the fragments of an old synagogue built in Roman style. In fact, one might take it for the ruins of a pagan temple were it not for the star of David, the ram's horn, and the sacred candelabrum which appeared as Hebrew decorations on some of the stones. It is believed by some authorities that Jesus taught in this synagogue.

South of Capernaum is a hill which is thought to be the Mount of Beatitudes. Its barrenness is relieved by a lovely Italian hospice surrounded by trees. On the spot where the Feeding of the Five Thousand is reputed to have taken place there stands a German hospice with a lovely garden and excellent accommodations.

On the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee lies the communal settlement of Ein Gev, heavily shelled during the Arab-Israeli War by Syrian troops from the hills further to the east. This fishing village has become for all of Israel a musical Mecca just as Dahlia is for folk dance festivals. The settlers conduct in the spirit of their friend and benefactor, the later Serge Koussevitzky, a Tanglewood festival beneath a vast shed similar to that of the American

concert center at Lenox, Massachusetts. Koussevitzky, Christian friend of Israel, loved both Tanglewood and Ein Gev; each, one in the Berkshires of America and the other, "beside the Syrian sea," now the Sea of Galilee, brings to its pilgrims of music a peace that "passeth all understanding."

One of the ten cities, however, remains and prospers. That is Tiberias, built by Herod Antipas in honor of the Emperor Tiberius. Jews considered it impure; but after the two national revolts had left Judea crushed and Jerusalem a pagan city, Tiberias became the refuge of Hebrew scholars. For three centuries, it was the center of Jewish cultural life. Great rabbinical academies flourished, and a large body of Jewish tradition was codified here. This work was begun by the brilliant Rabbi Meir Bal Ha-Nes; it was continued after his death by the Patriarch Yehuda. About the year 220, the Mishnah was completed. Other rabbis of Tiberias continued their studies; and, in 390, the so-called Palestinian Talmud was brought to completion. During the Arab period scholars worked out the vocalization of the Biblical text known as the *masorah*. Tiberias was considered a holy city. The remains of Rabbi Akiba were interred there in the second century; and, in 1204, the body of the great Maimonides was borne to Tiberias.

When the Crusaders came in the twelfth century, they built a mighty wall of jet basalt around the city. For the Jews, their coming was a disaster. Many communities were destroyed, and holy Tiberias became a city of medieval gaiety. The Crusaders, however, enjoyed the fruits of their victory only 80 years. On an extremely hot day of July, 1187, Saladin's army inflicted a crushing defeat on the 2,000 knights and 8,000 foot soldiers who had gathered for battle a few miles east of Tiberias. The Saracens set fire to the bushes on the cobble-ridged hill known as the Horns of Hattin. Blinded by smoke, oppressed by the heat and suffering agony from thirst, the too heavily armored Crusaders could not withstand the onslaughts of the Moslems. The king and his entire army surrendered. It was the end of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Tiberias became a Moslem city. In the sixteenth century, Suleiman the Magnificent encouraged his Jewish adviser Joseph Hasi to attempt a revival of the ancient glories of Tiberias, but that

effort proved a failure. The holy city decayed almost completely. In the nineteenth century, only 600 Jews were left, living in a wretched town that became notorious for its filth and stench.

After World War I, Tiberias experienced a renaissance. Settlements sprang up in the Jordan Valley, most notable of which are Dagania Aleph and Beth. The Yarmuk River furnished hydroelectric power. A shipping company organized boat trips, a luxury hotel Galei Kinneret (Waves of the Kinneret) was built on the lake side, and a beautiful suburb arose amid tall trees. The ancient hot mineral springs were restored, and Tiberias became a spa and summer resort. With pride, it points to the fact that it was the first town to liberate itself in 1948 and to raise the Jewish flag—even before the new state was born.

2. *The Dead Sea Comes to Life*

After leaving the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan flows south through Israel. For two-thirds of its length, however, it is in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. More than 20 miles east of the Israeli border, it enters the Dead Sea.

This strange body of water is located in the region where the ancient Israelites believed their God rained fire and brimstone on the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah because of their wickedness. Set among the austere mountains of Moab and the barren wastes of Judea, the steel gray surface of the lake reflects a spirit of weirdness, loneliness, and ghastliness. No living creature can survive in its waters due to the extreme saline and mineral content. The Dead Sea is the lowest body of water in the earth's deepest depression, for its surface is 1,292 feet below sea level and its maximum depth is 1300 feet. It is forty-seven miles long and ten miles wide. In the early 1940's, intrepid young Jews founded a settlement on its shores near the entry of the Jordan's terminal waters into the Dead Sea. They flushed the salt from the spoiled earth, running the Jordan's fresh waters through the saline soil 80 to 90 times until seeds could sprout and roots take hold. They called the place *Beth Ha'arava*—"House In the Desert." But, in 1948, the colonists had to leave their new homes and buildings, some fleeing by boat up the Jordan and others south down through the Dead Sea to

Israeli territory. Members of the Arab Legion of Jordan destroyed the houses, cut down the trees, and blew up the buildings and machinery of the Palestine Potash Corporation. Now the area, under Jordanian control, is once again a wasteland.

Only the southern half of the Dead Sea belongs to Israel. To reach the lake, a road was cut through the towering cliffs of limestone and shale, descending from a height of 1,500 feet above sea level. The highway which skirts the shore to Ein Gedi, leads to incalculable mineral wealth. In addition to vast deposits of salt, the lake contains great quantities of bromine, potassium, chloride, and the largest known concentration of magnesium chloride. There is enough potash fertilizer to supply the world for the next 3,000 years. Careful surveys and soundings have led mining experts to believe that there may be oil deposits below the surface in similar quantity as in Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Realizing the importance of these mineral deposits for Israel's future, the government has undertaken various development projects. Potash is now being extracted from the waters and salt is being dug from the mountain of Jebel Usdum. Seven oil companies have been granted concessions.

Even more significant for the country's development are varying water projects that have been planned. The most ambitious of these is the Lowdermilk Plan, evolved in 1939 by the distinguished American agronomist, Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, which involves the diversion of the headwaters of the Jordan north of the Sea of Galilee and the transmission of the water by means of pipes to the Negev. Another ambitious plan of Dr. Lowdermilk's is to dig a canal from Haifa across the plain of Esdraelon to the Jordan. In view of the fact that it would drop almost 1200 feet, a billion kilowatt-hours of electric power could be generated annually. By means of this hydro-electric power, it would be easy to extract the magnesium chloride from the Dead Sea. From a hot, desolate region, the Dead Sea area would within a few years be transformed into a mighty industrial empire. In fact, all Israel would benefit immensely by these Dead Sea projects. The extensive extraction of metals and minerals would provide raw materials for manufacturing. The hydro-electric plants could provide current and power for scores of communities. And the 200-mile system of

pipes and reservoirs from the headwaters of the Jordan would make it possible to irrigate the arid Negev and transform it into fruitful land.

3. *The Negev: The Desert Is Made To Bloom*

In 1949, the Israeli army conquered the triangular southern portion of Palestine known as the Negev ("south"). At that time, it seemed one of the most desolate regions in the world with its barren black and yellow mountains, its *wadis*, absolutely dry in summer and filled with rushing waters in winter, and its dreary plains. It may yet become the most valuable stretch of land in Israel.

Relying on the statements in *Deuteronomy* that the promised land was one "whose stones are iron and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass," geologists and chemists of the Hebrew University and the Weizmann Institute of Science undertook investigations. On the basis of their findings it has been predicted that Israel may be self-sufficient by 1958.

The Negev is a huge triangular wedge lying between Egypt and Jordan and ending in an apex only eight miles wide on the Red Sea. In ancient times it was a busy and a prosperous area. Here were King Solomon's copper mines; along its roads came rich caravans from Baghdad and Damascus. The key city and capital of the area is Beersheba of which *Genesis* records: "And Abraham planted a grove in Beersheba and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God." In 1948, only one Jew lived there, a physician. Now more than 25,000 Jews live in Beersheba which has become a bustling frontier town.

It completely lacks, however, the color and dissoluteness of the American Wild West. Here are thousands of young pioneers come to create a homeland and not to amass a personal fortune. It is an organized movement. Youth makes its first contact with the desert in the semi-military camps of the *Gadna*; later they enter *Nachal* which combines military service and pioneering. In the Negev, there are about fifty settlements, half of which are collectives.

Many of the people who have come to the Negev to reconquer the wasteland, have forsaken the easier life of the cities to dedicate themselves to an ideal. They find the larger towns of Israel crowded and corrupted by civilization; they seek the simple, less sophisti-

cated, less worldly life of the wilderness. This is what attracted Ben-Gurion to the desert: the simple life, the nearness of God and nature.

South of Rehovoth begin rolling plains called the *Darom*, which also means "south." The Negev itself begins at Beersheba. The Darom is immigrant territory; hundreds of small cottages have been built here by the government. There one can meet South Americans who dance the rumba; Algerians who wear berets and speak French; Iranians with turbans. One of the most interesting settlements is "the village which has no name." Here are concentrated over a hundred blind, who live in little pre-fabricated houses surrounded by pretty gardens. The Israelis once called it the Village of the Blind, but when Helen Keller visited it in 1952, she suggested they might more appropriately name it the Village of Light.

Two hours distant from Tel Aviv, Beersheba rises out of the parched brown earth. On its main street, one can see taxis and private cars, trucks and cement mixers, bulldozers and tractors. Along the sidewalks hurry farmers, engineers, plumbers, masons, carpenters, and ditch-diggers.

Its growth was phenomenally rapid. In 1948, it was populated only by Arabs of a low income and culture level. Only on the main street were there a few wretched shops; no running water or electricity existed. The mosque was the only impressive building in town; the only green spot was the British Military Cemetery. Beersheba was a hot and dreary outpost.

By 1949, things began to hum. There were new residential quarters and stores, banks, factories, and restaurants. Now every house has electricity and running water. Elaborate plans have been made for parks, playgrounds, and schools. Hadassah built a new hospital and named it after Dr. Chaim Yassky, who with 78 other doctors and nurses had been killed by Arabs in the convoy going up to Mt. Scopus in April of 1948. Already there is considerable social life in the cool evenings, when the working populace sloughs off its cares of the day and relaxes over a glass of tea. As in most metropolitan areas in Israel, the people are a motley group, consisting of immigrants from every part of the globe.

And then there are the Bedouins. They have been in the Negev

since time immemorial; they were here with their sheep, goats, camels, and horses when Abraham arrived. Today there are some 18,000 roaming the desert and their black tents dot the yellow sand. They scorn the settled life of the Arab *fellah* whom they utterly despise. In view of their nomadic existence, their adherence to ancient tribal customs and their distaste for work, they constitute a serious problem for the Israeli government.

Medical services are supplied to the Bedouins not only through the Hadassah hospital in Beersheba but also by a field service which reaches the most inaccessible camps. Through an intensive program of education an attempt has been made to persuade the Bedouins to live in houses, to use tractors and modern implements. A few have moved into stone houses and are cultivating land, but they are not many. However, the march of progress will undoubtedly force them very soon to give up their wandering and unsettled life, for before long the Negev will be plowed and planted and the desert wastes will have disappeared.

This project is rapidly developing. Already the Darom presents a picture of prosperous farmland where grain, corn, watermelons, potatoes, and onions are grown. This fertile plain is the northern end of the Negev in which are laid most of a network of some 186 miles of pipelines. A giant 66-inch pipe will be laid from the Yarkon River at Tel Aviv to the Negev, and another huge pipeline is planned to carry water from the upper Jordan to the southern desert.

Southeast of Beersheba the farmland turns into cattle country. Most of the Arabs have disappeared, and the plains are covered with perennial grass.

As indicated above, this region was once one of the most prosperous in the Middle East. In the Byzantine period the Nabateans dwelt here and built huge dams and extraordinary underground water storage systems. Professor Walter Clay Lowdermilk, a distinguished authority on soil conservation, and Dr. Nelson Glueck, the eminent archaeologist, have expressed amazement at the irrigation projects of the ancients. Kurnub, once a beautiful and prosperous city, will again become the center of activity, for it is here that the road divides, one branch going to the Dead Sea and the other to the Gulf of Aqaba. From the potash works at Sodom will

come vast quantities of chemicals; from the hills will come mica, gypsum, probably copper, and perhaps even oil. Kurnub has already become a center for scientists, engineers, and geologists.

Beyond the cattle country to the southeast, the true desert begins. Most of the country's mineral resources are in this area. There are vast quantities of iron and considerable phosphates.

Eleven miles north of Elath, near Beer Ora, are King Solomon's mines. The Israel Mining Company is constructing a modern copper mine; a tunnel over a thousand feet long has been drilled through the mountain. Manganese is also being mined, and it is planned to ship this out through the nearby port of Elath.

This sturdy little town, Israel's newest port, is a community of 600 inhabitants. Living conditions are not good. The water is bad; the heat is intense. Yet a hospital, a post-office and a bakery have been built. There are guest houses for visitors and a number of permanent homes. Soon a water infiltration plant will be completed. Elath means a great deal for Israel's trade with Africa and the East. It is, however, in an extremely perilous situation. Israel's eight miles are wedged in between Egypt and Jordan. The Egyptians have fortified the two small islands lying athwart the harbor; the passage there is only a half-mile wide. The attitude of its Arabic neighbors will largely determine the future of Elath.

4. *Dauntless Tel Aviv*

Throughout Israel there are towns and villages that go back three thousand years and that are rich in monuments of antiquity. However, one of Israel's most fascinating and most rapidly growing cities was founded only in 1909, and contains no mementoes of the past. Along its crowded streets lined by cafes, restaurants, attractive shops, department stores, and balconied white apartment houses, hurry tanned youngsters, eager businessmen dressed in sports attire and carrying brief cases, and mothers with baby carriages. The pavement groans under its load of trucks, busses, taxis, and private cars. The esplanade along the impressive and exciting waterfront skirts scores of open-air restaurants where lively orchestras play in the evening. Luxurious hotels look out upon the blue Mediterranean. If it were not for the signs in Hebrew, one would

think one were in Atlantic City or in Nice. This is Tel Aviv—the “Hill of Spring.”

The city was originally planned by its 40 founding fathers as a garden suburb of Jaffa. It was to be a residential community; factories and commercial enterprises were to be banned.

Despite difficulties with the Turks during World War I and with the British later on, Tel Aviv continued to grow rapidly. The hostility of the Arabs in Jaffa caused a wholesale migration of Jewish merchants to the new town. This change altered its original character but laid the foundation for its prosperity. By 1924, there were 25,000 people in the city. The rise of Nazism brought tens of thousands of German Jews as new immigrants. At the last census, Tel Aviv's population was 358,500, making it Israel's largest city.

It was in Tel Aviv that the Jewish state was born, and until the government moved to Jerusalem, Tel Aviv was the capital of the country.

5. *Beautiful Haifa*

There is a saying in Israel: “Jerusalem is the city of the past; Tel Aviv is the city of the present; but Haifa is the city of the future.” Although it is an old city, it cannot, however, claim the antiquity of Jerusalem. It goes back only to Roman times and no mention is found of it in the Bible. During most of the nineteenth century, it was little more than a walled village. As late as 1920, it was a somnolent fishing village in the middle of swamp land. About 2,000 Jews lived in miserable alleys; half the population suffered from malaria. The one distinctive building, on the slopes of Mount Carmel, was the Technion, the Technical Institute, which had been built in 1912 but had not yet opened its doors.

It was Theodor Herzl who, with prophetic vision, saw the possibilities of Haifa. In *Alt Neuland*, published in 1902, he describes the recovered Homeland with Haifa, its port, a city of lovely homes and gardens. Herzl predicted that it would become a metropolis by 1923. Although its population has reached only 150,000, it is considered by most people to be the most beautiful city of Israel.

Situated on a glittering bay that has been compared with that

of Naples and Rio de Janeiro, it nestles at the foot of picturesque, pine-wooded Mount Carmel. The top of the eminence is 1,658 feet high. It is on this mountain, Erem-El ("Vineyard of God"), that the fiery prophet Elijah proved the supremacy of Yahweh over Baal and slew 450 of the latter's priests at the Brook Kishon.

Running parallel to the port is the Kingsway, a stately avenue of consulates, banks, restaurants, and cafes. At right angles is Carmel Street, a beautiful hill road and principal thoroughfare of the German colony. The Germans were deported during World War II by the British, but their attractive homes still remain. Adjoining the German Colony is the Arab quarter with its oriental market and restaurants.

Above the Arab quarter is the Hadar, a residential and commercial district, and beyond, the beautiful Persian Garden. The garden is like a Persian rug; in a simple building on its grounds are buried two chief disciples of the Baha'i faith, Abdul Baha and the Bab. Further up the mountain is the Carmelite Monastery, on the grounds of which is a rude cave in which the prophet Elijah is said to have lived. On the top of the mountain one observes a wonderful panoramic view of the city and of the bay. Tiny ships are seen dotting the magnificent blue harbor, along one side of whose shore stand the cooling vats of the oil refinery like huge concrete milk bottles.

For Haifa does have industries. In fact, one of Haifa's distinctions is that, in the lonely Technion on the slopes of Mount Carmel, the Histadruth, (the federation of Jewish Workers in Palestine) was founded in 1920. Virtually every worker in Israel belongs to it, and it owns more than one-fifth of all economic enterprises in the country. It is the strongest single force—politically, socially, and economically—in Israel. And the Technion, the building in which Histadruth was founded, has become the M.I.T. of Israel.

6. *Jerusalem—The Holy City*

Although it has been sacked and burned repeatedly during its three thousand years of existence, Jerusalem has always risen phoenix-like from the ashes. Sacred to three great faiths—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—it has been embellished by the works of

artists and architects from all nations. Prominent among its buildings of pink and tan-colored stone are the green-domed Russian Orthodox church, the beautiful Italian Hospice, the marble-crowned Mosque of Omar, the attractive quarter formerly owned by the German Templars, the Ghetto of the Polish Jews, and the American YMCA building with its magnificent tower. Jerusalem is a mixture of Orient and Occident, of antiquity and modernity.

Strife between Arab and Jew has divided the ancient city into two: 1) the Old City with its cobble-stone streets, historic churches, synagogues, and mosques, sacred sites, and sixteenth-century wall belongs to Jordan; 2) the New City, founded less than a century ago, the capital of Israel.

The Jebusite city of Urashalim was a thousand years old when King David conquered it in 1000 B.C. In the intervening 3,000 years, it has been besieged nineteen times. David enlarged the city, including the nearby hill on which stood the castle of the Jebusites, called Zion. By placing the Ark of the Covenant in the city, he made it the spiritual capital of the Jews.

David's son, Solomon, built the famous Temple which endured less than 500 years. In fact, less than 70 years after David's entry into Jerusalem, the monarchy was divided, and his city remained the capital of Judah only. The Egyptian, the Assyrian, and the Babylonian plundered the city. King Cyrus of Persia, conqueror of Babylon, invited the Jewish exiles to return home. Although there was considerable eagerness to re-establish the spiritual supremacy of the city of David, the Temple was not restored until 517. The attempt of the Greeks to Hellenize the sacred shrine led to the revolt of the Maccabees. Jerusalem survived these onslaughts until the Romans, under Titus, took the city in 69 A.D., sacked it and destroyed Judah.

The butchery of the Jews by the Romans was appalling. Thousands died of starvation on the way to Rome; thousands more were crucified. Those who reached the capital were dragged through the streets and sacrificed to wild beasts in the Coliseum. An arch, standing today, was erected in honor of Titus, and coins were struck, showing the figure of a weeping woman with the words, "Judea Capta."

Two generations later the redoubtable Bar Kochba, inspired by

Rabbi Akiba, recovered Jerusalem for the Jews. Despite the fanatic zeal of the rebels, mighty Rome crushed the revolt. The City of David was reduced to a few streets; most of the town was ploughed under and sown with salt. Of Herod's glorious Temple only the western wall remained. The city was renamed Aelia Capitolina, and a pagan shrine was erected on the site of the Temple.

There followed the long period of the Diaspora. The glory of Jerusalem was gone. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, less than a thousand Jews were to be found in the Holy City. They were a pathetic lot: old people who had come to die near the Wailing Wall, superstitious Orientals, and pious young students. Most of them subsisted wretchedly on the *Halukka*, an annual collection taken up for them in Jewish communities throughout the world.

This was the Jerusalem Moses Montefiore, distinguished English philanthropist, found on his first visit in 1827. He made seventeen visits in all, his last, at the age of 91, in 1875. Montefiore was an "original," a pre-Herzlian Zionist—long before the Zionist movement was formally organized. Disregarding political implications, he sought to establish a homeland for his co-religionists, with Jerusalem as the capital. He recognized the unwholesomeness of the *Halukka* and opposed it vigorously. In place of this parasitic arrangement of unreliable charity, he proposed a self-supporting community. In 1858, he persuaded a number of families to leave the crowded ghetto of the walled city and to establish a new settlement outside. This was the beginning of a New City of Jerusalem. The windmill which Montefiore constructed is still standing. Aided by other philanthropists like the Rothschilds, the new quarters outside the walls prospered. Shops, schools, and synagogues arose; pious Jews left the ghettos of Europe to join their brethren in the New Jerusalem. At Montefiore's last visit, the Jewish population had increased to 20,000. By 1905, there were 40,000 Jews, compared with 13,000 Christians and 7,000 Moslems in Jerusalem. The non-Jews were also attracted by the New City; thousands left the old quarters to establish themselves outside the walls. Christian churches, missions, schools, and hospitals arose; Moslem mosques were erected. The new area took on a cosmopolitan character: there was the Mea Shearim quarter of the ultra-orthodox Jews, the German colony of the Protestant Templars, and, east of it, the Deir

Abu Tor of the Arabs. Jerusalem's New City became a babel of tongues and religions.

Not until after World War I, did it, however, become a modern city. On the whole, it remained a quiet, pious, unsanitary town, with an inadequate water supply and lacking good roads connecting it with the coast. As of old, however, it continued its significant role in Jewish culture. During the three decades following 1880, Eliezer Ben Yehuda labored unceasingly there and succeeded in establishing Hebrew as the language of Israel.

When Theodor Herzl visited Jerusalem he wrote in his diary on October 31, 1898:

When I remember thee in time to come, O Jerusalem it will not be with delight.

The dreary deposits of two thousand years filled with humanity, intolerance and filth lie in your evil-smelling alleys. The only human being always here, the sweet dreamer of Nazareth, did nothing but increase the hate.

If Jerusalem is ever ours, and if I can still accomplish anything at that time, the first thing I'd do would be to clean it up.

I would clear out everything that is not holy, set up workers' quarters outside the city, clean out and tear down the nests of filth, burn the ruins which aren't holy, and set the bazaars down somewhere else. Then retaining as much of the old style of architecture as possible, I would build a comfortable, airy, properly drained New City around the Holy Places. . . .

I would seal up the Old City with its relics, remove the daily traffic, and leave only houses of worship and welfare institutions within the old wall. And on the hilly slopes round about, which our labors would make green, a magnificent New Jerusalem would rise. The most elegant people from every part of the world would travel on the road to the Mount of Olives.

A jewel can be made of Jerusalem through care. Everything holy to be shut up in the old walls, everything new to be spread around outside.

In 1917, General Edmond Allenby, bareheaded and on foot, entered the Holy City at the Jaffa Gate and accepted the surrender of the Turkish garrison. The British civil administration, which had moved into Jerusalem, determined to make the city beautiful. Elaborate plans were drawn up and skilled craftsmen imported

to restore historic structures. The Dome of the Mosque of Omar was retiled; street name plaques of tile were set in the walls of corner buildings. New buildings were to be of stone, an excellent regulation in view of the abundance of light yellow limestone available in the nearby hills. Good roads were built and modern sanitary facilities were provided. Jerusalem bloomed.

With eagerness, the Jews joined in this renaissance of the City of David. New business and residential areas were laid out. Impressive buildings to house national institutions were erected. Jerusalem was the headquarters of the Jewish Agency which represented the Jews of Palestine and of the world in their dealings with the Mandatory Government.

When the Mandate ended in 1948, Jerusalem was populated by 100,000 Jews, 33,000 Mohammedans, and 30,000 Christians. Although Jews and Arabs lived in the same houses, rode in the same busses, worked in the same offices, ate and drank in the same cafes, there was always a feeling of uneasiness and distrust, even in days of peace. Periodically the smouldering antagonism burst forth: their Arab servants refused to work for Jews; Arabs rode only in Arab busses, Jews only in Jewish cabs. The British put up barbed wire enclosures and patrolled the streets with armored cars.

When Partition was adopted by the United Nations in November, 1947, violence erupted. Both Jews and Arabs made use of cruel, brutal terrorist methods. The British followed a hands-off policy, thus increasing the tension and precipitating chaos; in May, 1948, they pulled out completely. The strife then assumed the character of a full-fledged war. After six months' siege, the Jews of Old Jerusalem were forced to surrender. The New City, on the other hand, was held by the Israelis—with the exception of much of the Christian Quarter and Mt. Scopus with the Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University.

A truce, which lasted only one month, was imposed by the United Nations on June 10th. On July 17th, a second truce was imposed. Intermittent fighting and sniping continued. One of the victims of the clandestine violence was Count Folke Bernadotte, U.N. Mediator, who was killed apparently by a Jewish terrorist of the "Fatherland Front" (spawned by the "Stern Gang"), as his jeep drove through a former Arab section of the town. Peace

came in November, but Jerusalem was paralyzed. Many buildings had been destroyed; the people were idle and without means and the new government was in Tel Aviv. For almost a year, former Arab quarters stood empty. Professional men and artisans had left the city.

When government offices of the new state were moved to Jerusalem, the city's dormant economy revived. Hundreds of officials arrived; thousands of new immigrants came in. Since Mount Scopus was now a de-militarized zone, obliging the Israelis to give up the magnificent buildings of the Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University, new quarters had to be found. Fortunately, the Franciscan friars of Terra Sancta Monastery made classroom space available for professors and students. The establishment of the Knesset in Jerusalem was bitterly assailed by the Arabs, who insisted that the UN had recommended that the city be internationalized (despite the fact that, in 1947-48, they had with equal bitterness opposed the Partition Plan which had included, among its recommendations, the internationalization of Jerusalem). It is significant that a number of foreign embassies, including that of the United States, are in Tel Aviv, not in Jerusalem.

The Israelis claim Jerusalem as their immemorial capital. It is, however, a divided city, with the Mandelbaum Gate as the only passage from the Old to the New. Although most of the shrines and sacred sites are in the Old City—among them the Wailing Wall—the Israelis did manage to capture one of the holiest places, namely, Mount Zion. On that site King David built his citadel, and there his bones rest, interred in a stone sarcophagus. To countless Jews, who pray there every day, it recalls the glories of ancient Israel. The suffering of their modern descendants are brought to mind by a more recent memorial: a shrine, the Tomb of the Unknown Martyr, which contains the ashes of 100,000 Jews who met their death in Hitler's crematories.

The New City is a busy, bustling place with attractive shops, fine restaurants, crowded movies, and comfortable cafes. In the residential areas, the streets are tree-lined and the houses are fronted by neat gardens. Although it may be warm during the summer day, evenings are delightfully cool, for Jerusalem is located on a plateau 3,000 feet above sea level. When looking out

over the magnificent city from some high vantage point like the soaring YMCA tower, one cannot help feeling the import of the words of the hymn:

Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blessed,
Beneath thy contemplation sink heart and voice oppressed.

7. *Arab Towns*

Since about ten per cent of Israel's population is Arab, it is not strange that entire towns and villages should be Arab. It is, however, strange for the Christian to learn that the most typical Arab city and least Jewish one of Israel is Jesus' native town, Nazareth. The Jews left before the end of the sixth century. Another surprising thing is that its population is also quite radical in political views. In its first election under Israeli auspices, fifty per cent of the inhabitants voted for the Communist ticket. Although the proportion of Red adherents has now fallen to below ten per cent, the Communist leader of Israel lives in Nazareth.

It is also one of the least modern of Israeli cities. Although there are some newer buildings, paved streets, a cigaret factory, and a bus station, Nazareth remains rooted in the past. The natives, in flowing robes, walk in the middle of the street. Camels move along with dignified self-assurance and sleepy-eyed donkeys stand patiently in the shade. Young girls carry water jugs on their heads as did their ancestors in the days of Jesus; they walk to Mary's Well, one of the few authentic Holy Places in Israel.

Jesus undoubtedly trod these ancient, irregular cobble-stones in the cool, narrow lanes, where children are at play, or Arabs sit cross-legged, half asleep. It requires little imagination to picture the Holy Family living in one of the open shops. In fact, under the Church of St. Joseph the visitor is shown a cave where Mary and Joseph lived after the return from their flight to Egypt. There is also the ancient synagogue near the market place where, it is said, Jesus studied and taught. Nearby is the Church of Mensa Christa, containing the stone table of Christ, where Jesus is supposed to have dined with His disciples after the Resurrection. The most sacred edifice, however, is the Church of the Annunciation

standing where the angel is said to have appeared to Mary to announce the birth of Jesus.

Nazareth was an ideal place for Jesus to become acquainted with the common people. Strolling down the cobble-stone alleys, he could see the smiths, the carpenters, the potters, and jewelers at work. In the market-place, he observed the buying and selling, the loading and unloading of fruits and vegetables, and the drawing of water from the well. A short distance outside the gates, the young boy could wander over the lovely hillsides with their grazing herds, or look down into pretty gardens and orchards.

Most of this beauty, woven so simply and so skilfully into the parables of the Great Teacher, has disappeared. What was once the neat little village of Cana, where the wedding took place and the first miracle was performed, is now Kfar Canna, consisting of a few hundred modest Arab houses along dusty paths. A red-domed Catholic church stands on the reputed site of the wedding feast; a nearby chapel claims to possess two of the jugs in which the water was turned into wine. The road east of Kfar Canna meanders through barren hills and uninviting country, dropping rapidly until it reaches the Sea of Galilee, 25 miles from Nazareth and 682 feet below sea level.

Northeast of Nazareth, on the shores of the Mediterranean, is another town that has preserved its Arab character. That is Acre, rising from a sturdy wall with turrets. Flanked by a rugged fortress, it is one of the oldest cities in the world. The Phoenicians knew it, 3,400 years ago. Its most glorious era, however, was that of the Crusaders. Ejected from Jerusalem, they made this town their principal port, calling it St. Jean d'Acre. Under the aegis of the wealthy orders of the Templars and the Knights of St. John, the city flourished. They built palaces with roof gardens and silk awnings. A lively trade was carried on with Venice and other Italian ports. In 1271, Marco Polo, the famous traveler, visited it on his way to the East. Acre's splendor did not last long. In 1291 the Saracens captured and ravished it. The fall of Acre was the end of Crusader rule in the Holy Land.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century an adventurer and former slave named Achmed gained control of Acre. His cruelty was without parallel: he cut off the ears and noses of people he

did not like; he nailed his wife in a chest and dumped it into the sea; he had live men mortared into the city wall. With ease he earned his nickname, "The Butcher." Nevertheless, he was also interested in architecture and adorned Acre with some of its most beautiful structures. Among these is the green-domed mosque, "The Butcher's Mosque," where el Djazzar is buried. His end was near in 1799 when Napoleon besieged the city, but he had the good fortune of being saved because of the presence of a British fleet in the harbor.

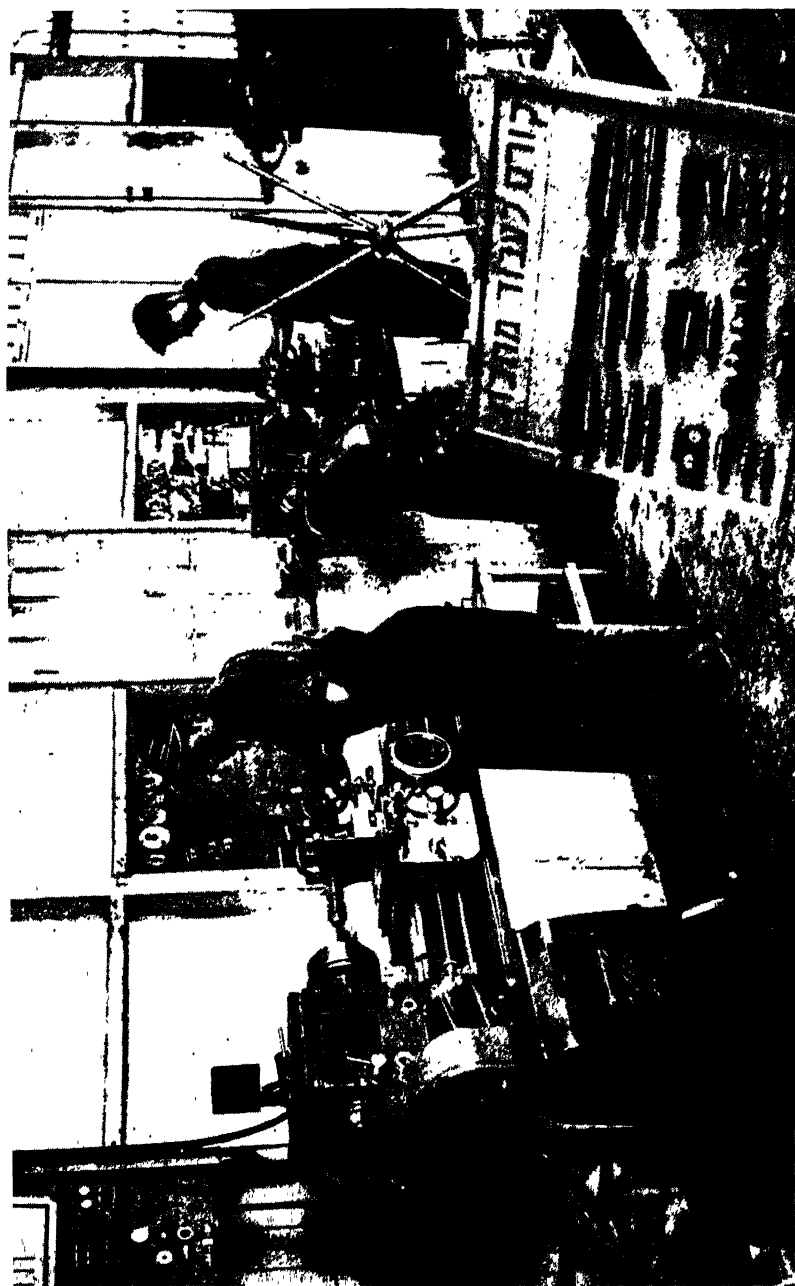
In 1948, Acre fell to a small force of Israeli infantry and marines. Thousands of immigrants were attracted to the city. New suburbs arose and a steel plant was built on the outskirts. Cooperatives were organized among the Arabs by the Histadruth, and a kindergarten, the first for Arab children in Palestine, was established.

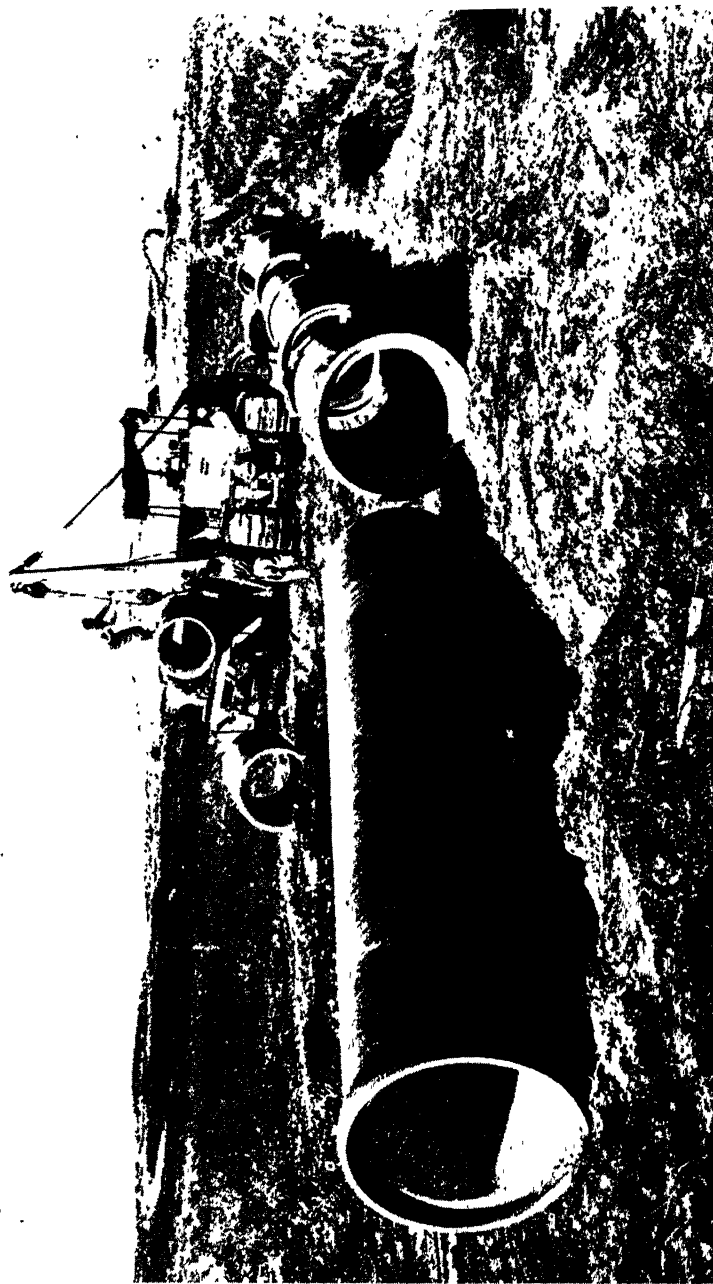
Acre still maintains its Arab character. Bearded natives squat languidly in the shade of narrow alleys; donkeys, laden with olive oil, pickles, oranges, and lemons, trot lazily along the dusty highways; fishermen repair their handmade nets or work on their little boats. Towering above it all is Achmed's gorgeous mosque with its Persian fountain, its magnificent rugs and its lacy iron work. And, in a splendid case, rests one hair from the head of the Prophet, Mohammed.

8. *A Bit of Bavaria in Israel*

In sharp contrast to the dusty, cobbled alleys of Acre are the smooth, immaculate streets of tidy Nahariyah, which looks as if it belonged in Southern Bavaria. Set in lovely little gardens are quaint, little houses with red gable roofs. The doorways are carved; the woodwork gleams with fresh paint. On either side of a pretty brook flowing through the town are two lanes of trees. This is Nahariyah—settled by middle-class immigrants from Germany in 1934.

It contains attractive hotels and restaurants, a museum and a library. For a number of years, it maintained a typically Central European atmosphere in language, food, customs, and the dress, all of which were German. Recently, however, with a considerable influx of new arrivals from countries other than Germany, Na-





Water pipeline in the Negev

hariyah has become more Israeli. Especially marked has been the influence of Americans from the nearby collective of Gesher Haziv and of the Sabras ("fruit of the cactus"), those born in Israel. Not far from Nahariyah is the beautiful seaside village of Shavei Zion, a *moshav shitufi* or cooperative-collective.

9. *Mixture of Old and New*

In a number of instances former Arab towns have been taken over completely by immigrants, thus assuming an entirely new aspect. Good examples of this type of town are Ramleh and Lydda, just three miles apart.

In Lydda's old quarter, there still stand buildings dating from Roman and Crusader times. The cathedral, which was originally founded by Richard Coeur de Lion, houses the remains of St. George, the dragon-killer. The chains of his martyrdom are still shown.

However, the Lydda of today has far more practical significance. A busy place, with planes taking off and arriving almost continually, it is Israel's airport. Many a visitor has his first view of Israel when he disembarks from the airliner at Lydda, which lies midway between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

VII

Israel: A New Way of Life

1. *The Cooperative Settlements*

ONE of Israel's most unusual and significant contributions to social theory and practice is the *kibbutz*. Hundreds of this type of collective farm are now in the new state. As efficient, productive agricultural units, they have established a firm economic basis for the struggling young nation; as social enterprises, they have demonstrated the feasibility of human beings living and working in close daily contact, held together by a high ideal.

It is amazing how successful Israeli pioneers have been in the face of seemingly insuperable difficulties. Through indefatigable zeal they have within a few years built, in regions barren for 20 centuries, thriving farm communities where thousands live in comfort and work in security. The words of the Psalmist have come true: "The desert shall bloom like a rose." It is not only blooming; it is producing substantial crops of wheat, corn, barley, and beets. Some *kibbutzim* have branched out into industry and now supply the nation with plywood, knit goods, shoes, printed matter, and marble.

Where did this unusual movement originate? As in the case of the revival of Hebrew, it was the idea of one obscure individual, by all appearances entirely unsuited for his task. As we have noted, Aaron David Gordon, the soft spoken, 48-year-old intellectual, rebelled against the ghetto life of Eastern Europe and imbued with a new social ideal, left his wife and children in Russia

to go to Palestine in 1903 and "redeem the land" by a return to manual labor and to the soil. "If we do not till the soil with our own hands," said he, "it will not be ours."

Gordon's prophetic cry of redemption drew ten boys and two girls to the sparsely populated Jordan Valley. Not far from the Sea of Galilee, the first collective was formed and named Dagania ("Cornflower").

The enterprise, like all new undertakings of this kind, meant heartbreaking toil, bitter disappointments and crushing defeats. Ridiculous mistakes were made by the young pioneers; but with invincible faith in their ideal, they attacked the parched soil. Finally, their efforts were crowned with success. They not only established a productive farm, but a new way of life.

Private property was abolished; everything was held in common. Women were given absolutely the same rights as men and were not to be relegated to the kitchen or the nursery. Children were the joint responsibility of the entire village. A new ideal of family life and motherhood was developed.

How far this has gone can be seen by visiting a *kibbutz*. A married couple occupy a single room in one of the whitewashed, red-roofed cottages, with a balcony, but no kitchen. They share a bath with two other couples in the same house. All infants live in the baby house, under care of a trained nurse who bathes, clothes, and feeds them (although some *kibbutzim* arrange now for parents to tend their children and keep them by their side in these tiny, simple homes).

The daily routine in a *kibbutz* is not easy. At 5:30 AM each member rises, dresses, washes, and walks to the *Hadar Ochel* (dining room), the largest building and social center. Breakfast usually consists of cereal, egg, and whatever fruit is in season. If a member is not on a permanent crew, he consults the bulletin board to see what job the Work Committee has assigned to him.

In the *kibbutz* there are no worries about permanent tenure, insurance, hospital bills, securing an apartment, supporting aged parents, children's education, taxes or burial expenses. The *kibbutznik* gets everything he requires in return for performing his appointed job—"to each according to his need." He rarely sees

money, except during his two weeks vacation when he is given a few Israeli pounds to spend.

Due, however, to differences in upbringing and temperament, dissatisfaction with this Spartan regime appeared. The result was the founding of a variety of collective settlements with modifications of the basic ideas.

Some pioneers felt that it would be more economical to create larger villages; they maintained that manufacturing and farming went hand in hand. The first of the larger collectives was established in 1921. Various types of industry were added to the tilling of the soil. However, the type of *kibbutz* which is devoted solely to agriculture continues to exist and is known as the *kvutzot*.

It was not only the practical issues of size and of adding industries that confronted the pioneers. More fundamental was the theoretical aspect: the view of life. Soon the collectives fell into various categories according to the political views and the philosophic or religious attitudes of their members. They now range all the way from the settlements of the very pious whose motto is "Torah and work" to those of agnostic left-wingers, with various modified forms in between.

Among the basic ideals of the *kibbutz* are equality of opportunity and of sacrifice, emphasis on productive work, and the liberation of women from traditional household tasks. In the early years of the *kibbutz*, various adjustments were made to allow for greater individual liberty; but even these mutations could not satisfy everyone. Some wanted a more intimate life with their children and the right to choose their work. They were ready to sacrifice the care-free security of communal living for the sake of personal enterprise. And so on September 1, 1921, seventy-five families founded Nahalal ("Trail Blazer") in the middle of a swamp in pestilential Emek Jezreel. It was the first so-called *moshav ovdim*, a cooperative settlement of small holders.

In the *moshav*, although the basic principles of the *kibbutz* are retained, there is considerable extension of personal freedom. Each family is given 26 acres; a loan from the Jewish Foundation Fund provides the means for building a home. Each farmer works as long or as little as he wishes. His profits, after paying his taxes, are his own. He cannot hire labor, however, for the ideal of the

kibbutz is consistently maintained: *redemption of the land through self-toil*.

The *moshav* is a cooperative rather than a collective. Crops are marketed and seeds are bought cooperatively. Each farmer is under obligation to devote one and a quarter acres to trees and to rotate his crops according to a fixed schedule. The community provides some social security: help is given in case of illness, military service by the oldest son, or death of the head of the family.

Life in the *moshav* is no easier than in the *kibbutz*; in fact, it may be harder. No eight-hour day is kept, and the individual's livelihood depends not only on his ability and energy, but also on chance. No over-all insurance against every type of loss is provided as in the *kibbutz*. Women, not confined to one task, have all the worries and the drudgery of cooking, washing, house-cleaning, child care and farm work. A poor season, ill health, or some other misfortune may reduce a family to a low level of existence.

On the other hand a *moshav* is more spirited than a *kibbutz*. It is evident that personal freedom and the joys and sorrows of intimate family life offset the toil of long hours and the risks of private enterprise.

Even this modification, however, of the *kibbutz* did not prove entirely satisfactory to all. It was felt that the good features of both—the security and economy of the *kibbutz* could be successfully combined with the cooperative features and family life of the *moshav*. This led to the *moshav shitufi*, an experiment in semi-collective living, the first of which—Kfar Hittim—was established in 1936 near Tiberias. Others followed rapidly.

The most impressive and beautiful *moshav* of this type is Shavei Zion ("Returnees to Zion"), founded on the shores of the Mediterranean in 1938 by immigrants from one German village. Here each family is allotted an individual dwelling, complete with kitchen and bath. There are village stores, a community restaurant, and a fine modern hotel with swimming pool, all of which help to make the village, with its red-roofed houses and avenues of trees, extremely attractive.

The *moshav shitufi* permits its members a limited amount of money—a family food allotment and a small allowance as pocket

money. The profits of the *moshav* are divided between the membership and the community as a whole. As in the *kibbutz*, the younger generation assumes more and more responsibility. Youths in their teens study three hours and work five, daily. Gradually, they assume greater burdens until at twenty years of age, they become full members.

Although the dining hall and the children's house are absent, the *moshav* preserves many of the collectivist features of the *kibbutz*. The community builds the homes, provides the furniture, supports the aged, educates the children. Nevertheless, in the opinion of many observers, some of the advantages of the pure *kibbutz* are missing, notably the high idealism and the desire to share equally both hardship and accomplishment.

Each system has its champions; each is an attempt to find a satisfactory solution to man's basic but contradictory desires: freedom and security. When Israel was established, there were 143 *kibbutzim* and *kvutzot*, 57 *moshve ovdim*, 11 *moshavim shitufiyim*, and 78 *moshavot* (private villages). The *kibbutz* seemed to be the most popular. Then came mass immigration of political refugees and survivors of concentration camps and detention centers. These were not attracted by the *kibbutz* but rather by the *moshav ovdim*. The later are manifesting a mushroom growth; indeed, they are growing so rapidly that often considerations of beauty and comfort are neglected.

The ideal of Gordon is being realized, for the land is being redeemed by self-labor. Over one-fifth of the population of Israel now lives on farms and toils with its hands. On 230 collective farms, the barren landscape is being transformed into fruitful agricultural areas. Tens of thousands of devoted, hard-working Israelis are making Gordon's words come true: "Labor is the great human ideal of the future and a great ideal is like the healing sun."

2. Education in Israel: "Pressure Cooker"

The young republic of Israel was confronted by the same sociological problem which has been a major concern of America for over one hundred and fifty years, namely, the rapid assimilation of a constant stream of immigrants. The task of welding into one peo-

ple hundreds of thousands of newcomers speaking different languages was placed largely upon the schools. Fortunately, there has always been a long, rich tradition of learning throughout Jewish history. The Jews have since time immemorial devoted much time and effort to scholarship, and they alone of all ancient nations provided for the universal schooling of their children. Evidence of this can be found in the Palestinian Talmud of about 400 B.C., as well as in the works of Josephus. The Torah holds that the study of the divine law is the religious duty not only of priests but also of the common man. And the Talmud declares: "An unlearned man cannot be pious."

After the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D., the Torah, i.e., the written law, became even more important, for it had to replace the destroyed sanctuary and the suppressed homeland. How well it served its purpose is seen by the fact that the Jews continued to preserve their identity for a thousand years in the midst of alien civilizations. Only in western Europe, through the civic emancipation of the Jew, was a breach made in the sturdy wall of Talmud-Torah education. A dual system arose: general, secular subjects were taught in the public schools and only in the *cheder* and in the *yeshiva* did Jewish education continue to flourish. With the national renaissance of the Jewish people in Israel, the dualistic system lost ground and a new educational synthesis developed.

During the British Mandate, most funds allotted to education were given to Arab schools, and what remained for Jewish schools were entirely inadequate. In view of this, the *Yishuv* (Jewish community) called upon public-spirited individuals and Zionist organizations for support. Through such assistance and self-taxation, the *Yishuv* was successful in organizing and maintaining an educational system from kindergarten to university.

Since these schools were supported by the voluntary contributions of the Jewish communities, it was natural that a considerable amount of diversity arose. Each community sought to establish schools in consonance with its own social background or religious outlook. Similar schools fell into certain groups which maintained a considerable degree of financial and administrative independence and were known as "trends."

Four major types of trends developed: (1) the Labor Trend, the largest, which stressed the social principles of the Israel Labor movement; (2) the General Trend, the oldest, which provided a general education without special emphasis; (3) the *Mizrachi* Trend, which placed emphasis on Jewish tradition and religious studies; and (4) the *Agudat Israel* Trend which assigned central place to religious studies. Although each trend operated independently under the supervision of its chief inspectors, cooperation and coordination between the groups continued to grow.

When the Mandate ended, the new state of Israel inherited this educational system which included kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, trade and technical institutions, agricultural colleges and teachers' training seminaries, with a total of 97,000 pupils and students.

With the doubling of the population by immigration there was a threefold increase in the number of school children. Only through tireless efforts by the authorities was it possible to provide the buildings, equipment, and staff required to take care of some 350,000 children.

A compulsory education law was passed a few months after signing of the Armistice with the Arab states; it provided for compulsory free education for all children (both Jewish and Arab) from five to fourteen. Israel is the only country in the Middle East that provides so extensive a free educational service.

The structure of the Israeli school system is simple:

1. All children between three and six may attend the kindergarten, although only the final year, age five, is required by law.
2. The elementary school provides eight years of schooling, from the age of six to fourteen. There are special schools for difficult children, as well as for backward and physically handicapped. Schools for young workers between 14 and 17 years of age provide for those who have not completed their elementary education.
3. The secondary schools offer four years of instruction. Graduates are admitted to the Hebrew University or any other institution of higher learning. In the agricultural settlements, secondary education is provided by continuation classes integrated with the elementary schools. There are also a number

of trade and agricultural schools which offer four years of instruction.

4. The institutions of higher learning consist of the Hebrew University, in Jerusalem, the Technical Institute (Technion) in Haifa, and the Weizmann Institute of Science and Agricultural Institute in Rehovoth. The teacher training colleges offer a one-year course for kindergarten teachers and a two-year course for elementary school teachers.

In the summer of 1953, a new education law was passed, abolishing the trends and establishing a unified school system for the whole country; it provides for religious as well as secular schools. In fact, in all government schools the wishes of the parents as to religious training are respected. In the 100 Arab schools, three periods a week are devoted to instruction in either the Christian or Moslem faith.

The law allows private schools, but in these 75 per cent of the curriculum must conform to government standards, and teachers must be approved and supervised by the Ministry of Education and Culture. About 14,000 pupils attend private schools, chiefly religious institutions of Agudat Israel. There are 225,000 pupils in the public elementary schools. About 70 per cent of the children in Israel between the ages of three and six attend a kindergarten, a much higher proportion than in most other countries of the world. The kindergarten is considered extremely important, for it forms the Hebrew speech patterns of the young child and helps to create a new, homogeneous generation from the masses of diverse origins. Special attention is devoted to nature study and to the problems of building up the country. There is emphasis upon love and respect for physical labor. The children are introduced to Jewish customs and folklore. The entire cost of the 1,340 kindergartens is borne by the government.

From six to fourteen every child must attend an elementary school. The curriculum is based on that of elementary schools in Europe and the United States, with the addition of Biblical and Talmudic literature. Nature study and geography are stressed, since every endeavor is made to adapt the school to the special needs of the country. The ideal stressed is not only that of the

good citizen but of the self-sacrificing pioneer, so urgently needed to develop the wastelands.

The vast majority of new pupils are immigrant children. The rapid adaptation of these youngsters to the life, language, and customs of Israel is a tribute to the excellent work of the elementary schools. Within four years, the number of pupils has tripled. There are now almost 1,400 elementary schools in Israel.

Israel's 80 high schools are equally well established. Their curriculum is enriched with specifically Jewish subjects such as the Bible, the Mishna and Gemara and medieval and modern Jewish literature. Stress is placed on the modern Jewish national movement, on physical training, and on nature study.

In addition to the four-year high school there is also the twelve-year school which accepts children direct from the kindergarten. A new type of organization is six grades of elementary schooling followed by six grades of high school education.

Although elementary education is free, secondary education is not. Increasingly, however, the Ministry of Education is providing scholarships for deserving elementary school pupils. Since establishment of the State, the secondary school population has more than tripled, rising from 6,542 to more than 23,750.

An important branch of vocational education is agricultural training. For almost 50 years, the Mikveh Israel School, founded by the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, was the only institution of its kind in the country. Recently there has been a rapid growth in the number of technical and agricultural schools; the number of pupils is 11,500. In view of the importance of farming to Israel and the urgent need for farm workers, it is not surprising to find that agriculture is a school subject throughout the grades. From their earliest years, the youngsters are trained to raise vegetables and flowers, and to keep bees and poultry.

Another problem confronting the Ministry of Education was to provide for thousands of young workers who were illiterate or whose education had been disrupted. Evening schools, paralleling the work of the day schools, were organized. In the vocational schools, such subjects are offered as metal work, automobile repairing, agricultural mechanics, electricity, carpentry, watch-re-

pairing, sewing, weaving, home economics and seamanship—courses that usually take three years to complete.

An important factor in Jewish life has always been the *yeshiva* or Talmudical college. Today there are 127 *yeshivot* in Israel with an enrollment of 5,567.

There are 25 teacher training colleges, providing a two-year course for elementary school teachers. A three-year course leads to the A.B. degree; five years' study is required for the M.A. The latter qualifies one to teach in secondary schools. Since 1949, the number of teachers has tripled.

In addition to the Hebrew schools, there are those attended by Arab children. In 1951-52 some 27,000 children were enrolled in 105 Arab schools with 750 teachers. Another 4,000 Arab Christian children attended schools maintained by various missions. This means that about 80 per cent of the total Arab population of school age in Israel attends school—a much larger proportion than in any Mohammedan country. In the eight grades the language of instruction is Arabic; Hebrew is taught four to five hours a week, beginning with the fourth grade. There is a special seminary for the training of Arab teachers.

The keystone of the Jewish educational system is the Hebrew University opened on Mount Scopus in 1925. The isolation of the beautiful buildings on the hilltop by the Arab forces in 1948 was a severe blow. Arrangements were immediately made, however, to continue lectures in temporary premises and, in 1949, the University resumed its work with about 900 students. Two new faculties have been added, and the number of students has risen to over 3,000.

The oldest institute of higher learning is the Technion, or Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa, whose cornerstone was laid in 1912. It began as a *Technische Hochschule* with German as the only language of instruction. Today, Hebrew only is used. It is amazing how, within a few years, the ancient tongue has been enriched with equivalents for the very latest technical terms so that there is a growing body of scientific literature in Hebrew. Courses are given in civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, and in architecture and science.

The latest addition to the institutes of higher learning is the

world-renowned Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovoth founded in 1944 and named for Israel's first president, Dr. Chaim Weizmann. With its modern laboratories and its beautiful grounds, it is a model center of research.

Through the elementary schools, the high schools, the adult classes and evening courses, a homogeneous national character has been developed, and Hebrew has become the language of the people. No institution in Israel has made a greater contribution to this rapid process of assimilation than the school system.

3. *Histadruth—A Creative Labor Movement*

The ideal of the Jewish labor movement was expressed by A. D. Gordon: "Labor is not merely the factor which establishes man's contact with the land and his claim to the land; it is also the principal force in the building of a national civilization."

In accord with that concept, Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, was founded in 1920. There were then some 60,000 Jews in Palestine. Some had immigrated, inspired by the ideal of Gordon; others had come because of unhappy and unfavorable conditions in Europe. Almost immediately, they established an agricultural workers' federation dedicated to non-exploitation and mutual aid. The organization of a general federation of labor had to be deferred until after the First World War. At that time Histadruth began with a membership of 4,500.

A significant statement of the founding conference stated that:

the Histadruth considers it its duty to create a new type of Jewish worker, and to see to it that while settlement is being fostered, the Jewish worker who came into being as a result of this very process, shall be assured the place he deserves. The Histadruth includes all workers who live by their own labor without exploiting the labor of others; it regulates all matters concerning the working class in the fields of trade union activities, settlement and education, with the aim of building a Jewish workers' community. In other words, the new federation undertook not only to protect workers, but to create them.

This meant that, in addition to normal trade union activities, Histadruth concerned itself with planned immigration, with educa-

tion and vocational training, with health and hospitalization, and with the development of a new Jewish culture.

In the years that have passed, the basic principles of the movement have remained unchanged. Any person may join Histadruth, provided he does not exploit the labor of another. The membership thus embraces industry and agriculture, the skilled and the unskilled, the clerical worker and the liberal professions. By the end of 1952, Histadruth included 472,251 men and women. Workers belonging to Histadruth constitute almost three-quarters of the total working population.

Recently agreements have been signed with two workers' organizations of the Religious Bloc. These, together with the admission of Arab workers to the trade unions, will bring the percentage of workers in Israel represented in the trade union section to 90%.

The worker joins Histadruth, not a local craft union. There is a basic rate for membership, graded according to income. More than 50% of the workers' membership fees is returned in the form of social and medical services. The Workers' Sick Fund, *Kupat Holim*, provides full medical care for all members and their families.

At the base of Histadruth is the Works Committee in the factory or shop. Next comes the Local Trade Union which covers a certain regional area. Final authority in the area rests with the Local Labor Council in town, elected by all the workers in the locality. The Council is responsible to the Executive Committee of Histadruth which is chosen by the General Convention. Voting for the General Convention takes place four times a year.

Every shade of political opinion is represented in Histadruth's highest tribunal, the General Council. Leading parties are *Mapai*, the Israel Labor Party, *Mapam*, the left-wing labor party, and the Progressive Party Workers. Local strikes cannot be called without the approval of the Local Labor Council.

Some outstanding achievements of Histadruth include: an eight-hour working day, seniority and family allowances, sick leave with pay, annual holidays with pay, maternity leave with pay, compensation of dismissal, accident insurance, and recognition of workers' organizations.

When Israel was established, many functions and responsibilities of the labor movement were assumed by the Government. Hista-

druth cooperated valiantly with the State to increase production and reduce inflation. Wages were tied to the cost-of-living index so that changes in the price level are automatically reflected in the wage scale.

As early as 1913, before the formation of Histadruth, a Workers' Sick Fund, *Kupat Holim*, had been organized as an integral part of the work in each settlement. How intimate and personal the service originally was can be seen by the fact that members were required to take turns in sitting by the bedside of those who were ill.

By 1953, the *Kupat Holim* was providing medical care for an enrolled membership of 381,000 who, together with their dependents, number over 950,000 or more than 60% of the entire population. A network of hospitals and clinics has been built with a personnel of nearly 6,000 persons. Revenue is derived from membership dues and fees, from employers' voluntary contributions and government grants. Ultimately, it is expected the government will assume full responsibility for hospitalization, sick pay, maternity leave, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance.

The most interesting feature of the Israel Labor movement is the wide range of economic and cooperative institutions which form an organic part of the Federation. The number of separate enterprises engaged in by Histadruth is astounding. There are the communal and cooperative settlements on the land; the producers' and consumers' cooperatives; business enterprises in which the shares are held in part or *in toto* by Histadruth; and finally national institutions, like the Jewish Agency, in which Histadruth has invested money. The basic requirement is that the enterprise fulfill a pioneering task or that it facilitate the absorption of new immigrants.

The best known forms of Histadruth economy are, of course, the *kibbutz* and the *moshav*. Both made possible the survival of the Jews in Palestine; they laid the foundations of the Jewish state. Today they perform the essential function of supplying food for the people. In 1952, there were 213 collectives and 225 cooperatives, with a total population of 137,220—all members of Histadruth.

The produce of the *kibbutzim* is marketed cooperatively through the central marketing agency, *Tnuva*. The cooperative

purchasing agency, *Hamashbir Hamerkazi*, takes care of all of the supplies and also controls the consumers' cooperatives. *Hamashbir Hamerkazi*, the Israel Cooperative Wholesale Society, is the largest single distributing agent in the country. About one-third of the population buys through consumers' cooperatives.

As immigration increased, Histadruth turned its attention also to the urban workers. Work was provided and opportunities for learning trades were developed. A cooperative contracting firm, *Solel Boneh*, was organized; it trains unskilled manual labor and secures contracts in road building, public works, and private construction and is now the largest building construction firm in Israel.

Entrance into building trades led one step further into industry. There was an urgent demand for building materials and equipment; and soon quarries, brick factories, cement works, iron foundries and glass factories were established. Later flour mills and processing plants were added. Most of these enterprises are owned directly by Histadruth.

The influence of Histadruth is also felt in the producers' and service cooperatives. In 1952, there were 349 of these, with a membership of 12,203. More than 90% of the urban and inter-urban passenger bus traffic is carried by cooperatives affiliated with Histadruth.

In order to provide housing facilities at reasonable cost for workers in cities, suburbs and villages, Histadruth has organized cooperative housing companies.

The numerous enterprises and ventures of Histadruth demanded high managerial and financial skill. Not only was it necessary to mobilize the financial resources of its members, but also to attract capital from without. Thus, in 1921, the Workers Bank with a capital of 18,000 Palestinian pounds was founded. To provide long-term agricultural credits, *Nir*, a central financial institution, was founded. In addition, there is a network of Workers' Credit and Savings Cooperative Societies in towns and villages. *Hassneh* is the name of the cooperative insurance company.

Despite its far-flung activities, Histadruth allows for much flexibility and adjustment. Its central economic authority, *Hevrat Ovdim*, is entitled to interfere anywhere if there is a breach of co-

operative principles or of the basic features of the social program. Yet members of the farm communities and of the producers' co-operatives are perfectly free to manage their daily affairs. It is evident that Histadruth has succeeded in its aim of "creating a new type of Jewish worker and assuring him the place he deserves."

But the transformation of the Jewish immigrants into a working community also required an extensive educational program. This, Histadruth has sought to provide. Through its educational and cultural program, it has aimed to mold the thousands of new arrivals, with their different backgrounds and their various languages, into a cohesive labor movement with common ideals.

The program includes the education of children and adults; it embraces cultural as well as vocational training; and it makes use of radio and film, and of every type of publication.

Adult education is conducted through the Cultural Center which operates evening schools, workers' libraries, and discussion groups. In the Workers' Colleges, young people are trained for responsible administrative positions in the various institutions and enterprises of Histadruth.

The Cultural Center publishes pamphlets and magazines, music and song collections, maintains dramatic courses, produces films and plays, arranges for exhibitions, and spreads its message by radio. In 1924, the Workers' Theatre, *Ohel*, was founded.

Practical training and academic education are combined in the Histadruth youth organization, *Hanoar Haoved*. In the many trade schools, young men are trained to become skilled technicians and mechanics.

Nor is the physical side neglected; in 1926, Histadruth founded *Hapoel*, its sports movement, which boasts a complete physical training program in which college instructors in athletics, boxing, wrestling, and swimming are trained. Through these various cultural activities, Histadruth endeavors to provide for all the needs of the workers and their families. To keep them abreast of current events, a number of publications are issued by Histadruth. The most important is *Davar*, the daily newspaper, which has one of the largest circulations in the country; a special supplement is published for women workers and children. For those who have not yet acquired a proficiency in the Hebrew language, *Omer*, a daily in sim-

plified Hebrew, is published. The Histadruth publishing house, *Am Oved*, issues translations of world literature and also publishes many original Hebrew books.

Women occupy an important place in every phase of Israeli life. The General Council of Working Women is an integral part of Histadruth and, with its 210,000 members, constitutes about 44% of the membership of the organization.

From the start every effort was made to build friendship and good feeling with the Arabs in Israel. These amicable overtures, however, were repulsed by reactionary Arab nationalist leaders and by the Communists. Despite this, large sections of the Arab working community were organized into the Palestine Labor League, which collaborated closely with Histadruth; after the establishment of Israel, the League became the Israel Labor League with 12,000 members scattered throughout 60 Arab communities. It has helped improve the standard of wages and of working conditions. With the aid of Histadruth, a number of cooperatives spread among the Arabs. The introduction of new social forms, the promise of full and equal rights, and the participation in the country's political life has begun to transform the Arab community, to help to integrate it into the fabric of Israel. Much remains to be done to assure the Arab of his civil and economic rights and to reassure him that he is not a "second class citizen," to abolish restrictions by the military on Arab citizens and to give equal employment. In all these tasks, Histadruth plays a significant role.

The social and cultural achievements of Histadruth then may be rated even higher than its many successful economic enterprises. It has brought about virtually a social revolution in Palestine, land of Israel. In its efforts to establish ideals of freedom, democracy and justice, it has won recognition throughout the free world as an exemplary labor movement. Histadruth is obviously the most powerful and most influential political, economic, and social force in Israel.

4. *Hadassah—The Health of a People*

No other organization has contributed as much to preventive medicine, public health, and child welfare in Israel as has Hadassah,

the Women's Zionist Organization of America. Founded in 1911 by Henrietta Szold of Baltimore, within a few decades it has played the major part of transforming the new state into the foremost country of the Middle East in hygiene, sanitation, and public health.

Hadassah's earliest emissaries arrived in a land virtually ignorant of public sanitation. Old fashioned remedies, incantations, and witchcraft were often relied upon in case of illness. Malaria and dysentery ravaged the population; the infant mortality rate was staggering. Hadassah's first task was educational; the people had to be taught to accept modern medical methods to safeguard and restore health.

Hadassah came to Palestine as a voluntary organization. The Vaad Leumi, governing body of the Jewish community under the British Mandate, asked for Hadassah's cooperation. The Medical Organization of the latter became the health department of the Jewish Agency in Palestine.

From small beginnings, Hadassah grew with amazing rapidity. With the Hebrew University, it built the Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital and Medical School on Mount Scopus, largest and most modern medical center in the Middle East. During World War II, the complete services of the hospital were extended to Allied Forces stationed in the vicinity. Unfortunately, this splendid medical center was lost to Israel when the Arab Legion took over the Mount Scopus area; at this writing, both the Hadassah installations and the Hebrew University buildings are in a United Nations-patrolled No Man's Land.

Additional hospitals and clinics have, however, been established throughout the land. American standards of hospital administration have been introduced everywhere. Hadassah also supports a home medical service for needy patients, who are visited by nurses in their homes and are given examinations and treatment. Furthermore, a convalescent day home and a tuberculosis hospital, the latter in Safad, are maintained.

A most interesting feature of Hadassah's medical services is its child care service. Beginning with prenatal care for the mother, this service follows the child through infancy and adolescence. Hadassah's network of 52 child welfare stations are open to all inhabit-

ants of the country, regardless of race or religion. Three stations have been set up in Arab districts.

A school Hygiene Department was established as early as 1919 to supervise the health of some thousands of youngsters annually. Hadassah's war on trachoma—the eye disease which once afflicted virtually every school child in Palestine—proved startlingly effective: today, the disease is practically non-existent. Whenever a child was absent from school two or more days he was visited by a Hadassah nurse. In this way, about 80 per cent of the homes were reached by Hadassah nurses for medical care. Hadassah was also instrumental in introducing anti-typhoid vaccination throughout the country. Also, as a further step toward restoring the sick and disabled to a normal existence, occupational therapy units have been established.

One of Hadassah's most vital services has been that of assuming administrative responsibility for health work among the incoming refugees. A wide range of medical services was required. Tuberculosis was high; dental conditions were extremely bad; and the mental state of many new arrivals posed a grave problem. Tuberculosis preventoriums were opened in Nahariyah and in Gedera. Hundreds of pre-fabricated barracks were erected as field hospitals.

When Hadassah's first training school for nurses, the Henrietta Szold School, was established in 1918, the idea of professional training for women in Palestine was totally new. Now there are nurses' training schools throughout the country. Hadassah was asked to coordinate teaching activities and to set up common, unified standards. The library of the Nurses' Training School today is the outstanding professional library of its kind in the Middle East.

Related to health activities is Hadassah's school lunch project. For many years, over 30,000 children were fed daily. In addition, the nutrition department acted in a supervisory capacity for institutions requesting Hadassah's guidance in mass feeding problems. Hadassah also undertook to maintain and supervise playgrounds, clubs, kindergartens, summer and day camps.

During the '20s, the population of Palestine was largely agricultural. Between 1933 and 1939, the refugees who fled from Europe were interested chiefly in industry and trade. Many new industries were started, thus changing the predominantly agricultural aspect

of the economy. The war accelerated the need for industrial growth, and the community began to consider the problem of vocational training. Around 1942, Hadassah founded the Brandeis Vocational Center with a Bureau of Vocational Guidance staffed by psychologists. In addition, the Alice Seligsberg Vocational High School for Girls was founded. This institution endeavored to combine a general secondary education with vocational training.

In 1933, Henrietta Szold, then over seventy years old, organized the Youth Aliyah movement to bring Jewish children from Europe to Palestine. Hadassah became the American agency for Youth Aliyah. Most of the 30,000 children brought to Israel were war orphans; many had little or no schooling. Despite their harrowing experiences in concentration camps, problem cases did not exceed 2.05 per cent of the total.

Their rapid and smooth adjustment in Palestine was due mainly to the unique system of education and apprenticeship for agricultural life devised by Youth Aliyah. The system was worked out experimentally for the first hundred boys and girls who arrived from Germany in 1934 and 1935. The children were placed in groups of twenty to fifty, accompanied by an instructor-worker, who was with them for the two years of their education. The welfare of the children, however, was in the hands of the local community. So well did the plan work that it was later applied to children from all the 41 countries represented. Today, some 20,000 Youth Aliyah graduates are citizens of Israel and are to be found playing their part in the agricultural and national life of the nation. During World War II, a large proportion volunteered for service in the British Army. Over 2,000 (including 200 girls) were enrolled.

The value of Hadassah's services rendered can hardly be overestimated. For decades, it has operated a complete curative and preventive medical program, including public health and environmental sanitation. During the Arab-Israel War of 1948, more than 90 per cent of all casualties in Jerusalem were cared for by Hadassah; in fact, nearly two-thirds of all the Israeli casualties in the country were treated by that organization. Hadassah doctors, surgeons, social service workers, and nurses worked 24 hours a day. In 25 years, Hadassah chapters have collected and sent more than thirty-seven million dollars to Israel. At present, Hadassah main-

tains three hospitals with 700 beds, 27 clinics and 34 "Mother and Child Care" stations. The ideal of Henrietta Szold has been realized; Hadassah has indeed been a blessing to hundreds of thousands of unfortunates.

Hadassah is not, however, the only group that has contributed to Israel's medical and social welfare. The labor movement, too, has rendered valiant service and the Pioneer Women, auxiliary of Poale Zion, has made significant contributions. *Kupat Holim*, the workers' health insurance plan, maintains 14 hospitals, 810 dispensaries, 10 convalescent homes and 165 infant welfare stations: its network of hospitals, clinics, and health stations throughout Israel employ a personnel of almost 6,000. Its services are extended to the Arabs and to members of workers' organizations not affiliated with Histadruth.

These two organizations, Hadassah and *Kupat Holim*, laid the foundation of Israel's medical services. Thanks to the institutions founded and maintained by them, the Jewish community of Palestine has boasted one of the lowest infant mortality rates in the world and enjoys a life expectancy fully in accord with Western standards.

Since the establishment of Israel, public health is the responsibility of the Ministry of Health. It employs 380 doctors and 1900 nurses, and runs 19 hospitals with 4,300 beds.

A special Health Service for new immigrants was set up, consisting of a chain of free clinics, hospitals and welfare centers. The vast majority of the new arrivals still had to remain in reception camps. In 1950, these were practically abolished; and Maabarot (transitional villages) were established for them. Most of the residents of these settlements have become members of Histadruth's *Kupat Holim*.

With the assumption of health as a government function, the number of hospitals increased from 63 to 87, and the percentage of beds from 14.6% in 1948 to 41% at the end of 1953.

Israel has some 3,500 doctors, or one doctor for every 470 inhabitants—the highest rate in the world (U.S. 1:710). Many of these physicians, refugees from Europe, are advanced in years. Thus, in a few years, there will be a shortage of physicians, a deficiency the Hadassah Medical School is trying to remedy. There are now

369 Mother and Child Care centers throughout the country. In 1949, the infant mortality rate was 52 per 1,000 live births; in 1953 it was 35.8 (in contrast to 144 of every 1,000 in 1922), next to New Zealand, the lowest in the world. Even among the Arab population there has been a favorable reaction in this respect.

Several widely prevalent diseases have been given special attention. Despite the high percentage of active tuberculosis since 1948, preventive measures have kept the incidence of TB down to about the same as in countries with the lowest rate. Malaria, one of the most deadly endemic diseases in the Middle East, is fast becoming almost rare. In 1950, there were 3,011 cases; in 1953, only 390. The Ministry of Health also maintains five mental hospitals. Government medical and health services are available to all citizens, Jews and Arabs alike. On the latter particularly, the improved health standards have made a startling social impact.

5. Farm and Factory

Agriculture has played a unique role in Israel's history, for it was primarily through resettlement of the land that the Jewish national revival was brought about. As far back as 1870, an agricultural school was established at Mikveh Israel, and, in the ensuing years, new agricultural villages were founded. By 1889, there were 22 rural settlements in different parts of Palestine.

Despite the fact that for centuries Jews had been—by compulsion—town dwellers, they succeeded in developing a sound basic agricultural program in Palestine within three generations. Today, out of a population of 1,717,834, more than 500,000 Jews live on the land.

In 1948, a new period of agricultural development began. Greatly increased immigration called for more intensive production. The government immediately initiated a four-fold program: 1) redemption of waste lands; 2) preparation and settlement of new agricultural areas; 3) training new farmers; and 4) increased production through irrigation and modern methods.

The greatest problem confronting the authorities was to persuade former town-dwellers to settle on the land. Only 0.8% of the immigrants had any knowledge of farm work. An educational pro-

gram, including technical training, had to be set up. Both the *kibbutzim* and the *moshavim* were helpful in winning workers and in training them. The success of the Government's program is attested by the fact that 20% of all new immigrants are now settled on the land. By 1953, some 3,000 urban families had been drawn to farming. Due to these efforts, the area under cultivation increased from 1,650,000 dunams in 1948 to 3,550,000 dunams in 1954 (4 dunams = 1 acre).

The settlement of these new areas also involved unusual problems. Underdeveloped areas such as Western Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor, and the Negev had to be developed quickly. Extensive preparatory work was necessary: roads had to be laid, irrigation planned, housing and equipment provided. Soil amelioration had to be attempted and experimental sowings undertaken. In the first three years of mass settlement, 31 new villages were founded in the once sparsely populated Jerusalem Corridor, 56 in the South and in the Negev. From May 1948 to September 1953, some 327 new settlements were organized, many more than were founded during the previous sixty years of Zionist reconstruction. Their share in the total production was about 25%; they held 27% of the country's dairy cows and 30% of the draught animals.

Of the Arab population of 179,000, more than 140,000 are employed directly or indirectly on the land. There are 14,500 Arab-owned farms, not including the Bedouins, whose farming activities comprise another 3,100 units. Tremendous efforts have been made to improve agricultural conditions among the Arabs. The Ministry of Agriculture employs 18 experts who work exclusively with them.

The major aim is, of course, to render Israel as nearly self-sufficient as possible. This can be accomplished only by widespread irrigation. Within the last few years, rapid progress has been made. Through the construction of regional waterworks, the irrigated area has been increased from 230,000 dunams in 1948 to 650,000 dunams in 1954. The total area under cultivation amounted to almost 4,000,000 dunams.

Not all crops can be grown successfully. The government has been experimenting with cotton and flax in the Negev. Three major industrial crops, already beyond the stage of experimentation,

are assuming increasing importance—sugar beets, oil crops, and tobacco. Within five years, Israel will probably be self-sufficient in sugar production. The most important oil crop grown is the groundnut. Tobacco is so extensively produced that it may soon be exported.

Wheat production is still insufficient; maize and other cereals are being added. However, the nation is quite self-sufficient in vegetables. Some thought is being given to canning for export.

Citrus fruits constitute Israel's most important fruit crop; they also form the country's largest single export item. "Jaffa" oranges are in constant demand in Europe. The planting of new groves is increasing annually, and industry is more and more being mechanized. Exports now reach over 7,000,000 cases. In fact, the subtropical climate encourages the raising of a great variety of fruits. Plums and apples are now being grown, in addition to the oranges, lemons, olives, grapes, and figs long under cultivation.

Until recently, cattle were raised mainly for milk. The number of dairy cattle rose from 32,450 in 1947 to 80,100 in 1953. Milk production increased 50%. Efforts are now being made to raise cattle for beef production. Natural pastures are being developed in the South and in the Negev. It is expected that 10,000 head of cattle for beef may be raised annually. There are also 85,000 head of sheep and 108,000 goats.

To meet the serious problem of reviving Israel's waste lands, the Government Soil Conservation Department conducted a land utilization survey, mapping and defining the general grades of land for exploitation.

A valuable part of the Israel diet is fish. There is sea fishing, lake fishing, and pond fishing. Since the establishment of the state, the fishing fleet has doubled. Lake fishing, too, has continued to expand. Some 35,000 dunams of fish ponds, stocked chiefly with carp, contribute to the feeding of Israel's people.

The topography of the land has been changed by the many ponds and even more so perhaps by the wide-scale afforestation. Under a national tree-planting program, more than 15 million saplings have been planted in six years.

Reflecting the growth of agriculture, there has been an amazing increase in farm machinery. In 1948, there were 681 tractors;

five years later, there were 3,500. The number of combines, drills, and balers has increased four-fold.

Israel, indeed, despite overwhelming difficulties, has made gigantic strides in increasing its agricultural production. The most significant figure is the anticipated three-fold increase in irrigated land from 16.4% in 1954 to the 51.8% envisioned by 1960.

Although Palestine was always a land of agriculture, some forms of industry stem back to ancient times. However, these activities were confined largely to the production of consumer goods for local consumption. In 1921, there were only 4,750 persons employed in industry; by 1937, the number had risen to 27,000. During the period of the Mandate, industrial development was seriously obstructed by the fact that Palestine had no protective customs tariff and thus became a dumping ground for manufactured goods from all over the world.

With the establishment of Israel, a new era in industry began. First, the government sought to attract foreign investment capital for the creation of basic industries to supply local needs. It was hoped that, with the export of manufactured goods, currency would be earned to pay for imported raw materials. The rapid expansion of industry is reflected by the number of workers, which rose from 80,000 in 1949 to 123,000 in 1953. Exports increased from 9.8 million dollars to 34 million dollars. Industry now constitutes over 26 per cent of the national income.

Greatest increases in the value of production are shown in the following industries: foods, metal and machinery, construction materials, woodwork, textiles, printing and paper, clothing, chemicals, leather and electricity.

In 1950, the Knesset passed the "Law for the Encouragement of Capital Investments." By December 31, 1953, there were 408 new "approved" enterprises in production with investments of 34,700,000 Israel pounds local capital and 56,000,000 Israel pounds foreign capital. The Israel Government Development Budget is the principal instrument for investment in industry. Over 92% of the industrial enterprises are found in the private investment sector; the remainder belong to cooperatives.

One of the first aims of the government was the development of primary industries based on local raw materials. The discovery of

natural mineral resources in the Negev opened up new possibilities. Extensive exploitation of phosphates, potash, and sand for glass and ceramic clays is under way. Israel is already self-sufficient in phosphate fertilizers, sulphuric acid, glass and ceramic products; as a matter of fact, some of these products are being exported. In addition to the giant chemical plant of "Fertilizers and Chemicals" of Haifa, other plants are being constructed to manufacture ammonia, nitric acid, and a number of basic chemicals. A second plant, using Dead Sea salts and Negev phosphates, will produce bromides, soda ash and phosphoric acid. Considerable reserves of iron, copper and manganese have also been discovered.

Electricity is provided by two companies: the Palestine Electric Company and the Jerusalem Electric and Public Service Corporation. By 1957, it is expected, expansion will reach 420,000 kilowatt hours through the enlargement of existing power stations and the erection of entirely new plants, the Jordan canal power project in the north and the Darom power station in the south.

Almost all electric appliances are either manufactured or assembled locally. In 1952, the assembly of Philco refrigerators in Israel was begun; and, in 1953, electric washing machines made their first appearance. Most of these are exported.

The metal industry is now able to supply almost all domestic consumer needs. A steel rolling plant was built in 1953. There has also been a steady increase in the machine-building industry.

Through the mass immigration a phenomenal rise took place in the manufacture of building materials—cement, stone, gravel, lime, plaster, bricks, and tile. Cement is one of the country's biggest items. In 1949, Israel's only cement factory, near Haifa, had an annual capacity of 300,000 tons. Modernization increased its capacity to 450,000 tons. Today a second plant in Ramleh produces 300,000 tons; and a third, in the Jerusalem corridor, has a capacity of 250,000 tons a year. The United States has ordered a million tons for the construction of U.S. military bases in Spain.

The local glass industry received a tremendous impetus with the discovery of large deposits of glass sands in the Negev.

One of the oldest and best established industries in Israel is that of textiles. Most of the concerns are small. Cotton, linen, rayon materials, as well as finished clothing items and hosiery are produced.

Food industries employ over 20,000 workers. Outstanding products are flour, chocolate, candy, fruit juices, jams and preserved fruits. Wine is one of the country's oldest products, most of it being consumed locally.

Following citrus fruits, cut diamonds and polished diamonds are Israel's second biggest export item. The industry was established during World War II. In 1953, 146,804 carats, valued at \$12,712,000, were exported; and of these, 90% went to the United States.

The chemical industry, which employs 3,500 workers, is based on the unlimited resources of potash, bromine and other salts in the Dead Sea, the phosphate quarries of the Negev, and the petroleum refineries of Haifa.

A new industry is the manufacture of paper. Since 1954, all Israel's newspapers have used local newsprint. The manufacture of plastics, too, is new.

Even the automobile industry is represented. Kaiser-Frazer of Israel began production in April, 1951; by 1954, over 6,000 vehicles had been produced. They are exported chiefly to Turkey, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Iceland and France. Two large tire factories produce over 100,000 tires annually.

Three industrial crops, apart from fruits and vegetables for canning—sugar beets, oil crops, and tobacco—are exploited locally. Rapid progress has been made in all industrial areas, but for many years to come, Israel will need imports. To pay for them, exports will have to increase. Fortunately, a steady rise has been shown. Whereas in 1949 they amounted to \$11,790,000, they had reached \$34,775,000 in 1953. New industries have been started; older industries have been able to expand and to produce exportable surpluses. More and more raw materials are becoming available. Israel's industry still has a long and difficult road to travel, but the most serious obstacles have been overcome.

6. Israel's Cultural Life

In the cultural forms achieved in Israel, the traditions of an ancient religious past mingle with modern social thought. Advanced techniques are employed to express age-old ideals. Men and women from Eastern and Central Europe, from Yemen, Iraq and Morocco,

and native-born Sabras are working together to create a common culture.

The most important single consolidating force in Israel is the Hebrew language, refashioned to meet the needs of modern life. Within a comparatively brief period, it has established itself as the living tongue of a living people. To aid the many adults in acquiring the language rapidly, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Jewish Agency and Histadruth set up special classes. The press and the radio helped in the spread of the language; compulsory army service trained the young in its daily use. The Academy of the Hebrew Language, consisting of fifteen life members, renders official decisions with reference to grammar, spelling and pronunciation. The Academy, established by law in 1953, succeeded the Hebrew Language Committee, which had been founded by the indefatigable Eliezer Ben Yehuda.

The firm establishment of the language has gone hand in hand with the development of Hebrew literature. The majority of the writers occupy themselves with recollections of the Diaspora and impressions of their new environment. Among outstanding authors are: Yosef Agnon who portrays contemporary life in Israel; Gershon Schofmann, master of the short story; Dvora Baron who writes realistic studies of place and character; Yehuda Burla who interprets the Oriental Jews, and Haim Hazaz who writes about the Yemenite Jews. There are also many poets, whose works appear chiefly in the literature supplements.

Israel publishes an unusually large number of books in proportion to the size of the population. In 1953, no fewer than 977 Hebrew books were issued, including fiction, philosophy, poetry, science, history and translations. Of the 205 books of fiction, 70 were original. The Bible is published by several concerns. There is also a comprehensive 20-volume Hebrew encyclopedia covering all fields of human knowledge. The wide selection of world literature is enlarged year by year.

The Israelis are voracious readers. Lending libraries, containing over a million volumes, have been set up all over the country. Book-mobiles are used to reach immigrants and settlers in distant areas. A central library for the blind is maintained in Natanya.

The most extensive collections of books are those of the Knesset,

the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Municipal Library of Tel Aviv, and the nation-wide chain of Histadruth.

The Israelis are also eager theater-goers, attending the productions of the three dramatic companies: Habimah (the oldest), Ohel, and the Chamber Theater. There are also an opera company and two companies for revues and operettas. All have their headquarters in Tel Aviv; only Habimah, formed in 1918, has its own theater. The theater receives little government aid, relying chiefly for support on the public, which is the largest mass audience (in relation to the population) in the world. The companies are owned and managed as cooperatives.

While there may be considerable dramatic talent, there is even more musical talent. Equally fortunate is the enthusiasm for good music which is to be found among all classes in Israel. The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, whose first concert in 1936 was conducted by Arturo Toscanini, today must satisfy the demands of almost 15,000 regular subscribers. The Jerusalem and the Haifa orchestras also broadcast over *Kol Israel* (Israel Broadcasting Service) so that dwellers in remote settlements are reached. In the latter, music plays an important role. Most of them have either a choral or an instrumental group of their own, and folk-dancing is a favorite past-time. A unique event which has drawn Jewish music lovers from all over the world to Israel is the "Zimriah" Song Festival, held for the first time in the summer of 1952. Folk song and the dance are among the most popular expressions of the people's creative genius.

Creative art in Israel is characterized by a continuation of the old as well as by a search for the new. Various groups and trends have emerged in Israeli painting. The leading school of art is the Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem, founded in 1906. Monumental sculpture has advanced slowly. On the other hand, considerable artistic creativity is displayed in silver and copper, ceramics, hand-weaving, embroidery and rugs.

The cultural activity of Israel, however, is most striking in the newspaper and magazine field. Every thousand inhabitants buy 235 copies of daily papers, and most Israelis read two papers a day. Of course, it must be pointed out that the average paper contains only four pages on weekdays and eight to ten on Fridays. No papers

appear on the Sabbath. There are, at present, 23 dailies, most of them published in Tel Aviv, but with a country-wide circulation. Twenty are morning papers; three appear in the afternoon. Languages represented are: Hebrew 15, Arabic 1, English 1, French 1, German 2, Hungarian 1, and Bulgarian 2. Most papers contain a section entitled "Hebrew Column for Beginners" to enable new immigrants to read the day's news. In addition to newspapers, 221 periodicals are published in Hebrew and other languages.

Finally, there is *Kol Israel* ("Voice of Israel") which is on the air for seventeen hours daily. There are six regular news services every day in Hebrew, three in Arabic, two in English, and one in French. Two hours are devoted to Arabic programs. In the evening there are additional programs in Yiddish, French, Ladino, Rumanian, Hungarian, Turkish and Persian. *Kol Zion Lagola* ("Voice of Zion to the Diaspora") broadcasts daily short wave programs in Hebrew, in Yiddish, in English and in French to Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

It is evident, then, that this small land displays a remarkable cultural activity in all fields, in several of them far above the average of Western nations. A new, vibrant instrument has been added to the symphony of nations.

7. *The Promised Land Restored*

For thousands of years the Jews have looked toward Zion as the center of their cultural and religious life; for centuries they longed for a restoration of the Kingdom of David. Finally, in 1948, after almost super-human efforts and intense struggles, the state of Israel was established on the soil of ancient Palestine.

To the Jewish people, Israel has become a land of personal freedom; there Jews are a majority and a ruling group, and as such may determine their own destinies and know security. Under the guidance of fearless leaders and men of vision, they have founded a democratic state, a new nation, a homeland for the oppressed of all lands. With indefatigable zeal and unquenchable enthusiasm in the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles, they have conquered a barren, malaria-ridden region, where formerly a few hundred thousands eked out a miserable existence and have transformed it

into a fertile, productive land able to support a million or more persons in comfort. What has been accomplished is in truth miraculous—indeed, unique in the history of man.

This achievement is of vital significance to the Jew; it is hardly less meaningful to the Christian and the Moslem. For the Christian, Palestine is still the Holy Land. It is there that, for two thousand years, countless churches, shrines, convents, monasteries, schools and missions have been maintained with reverent care and have created a cultural investment of Christianity in the Holy Land that is incalculable. Hence the Christian, too, must rejoice that this land has been restored to fruitfulness, that its towns throb with industry, that a new beacon of hope and confidence in man's indomitable faith has been lit. He must be glad that this people which has suffered so unspeakably at the hands of the Gentiles has at last come into its own. And for the Moslems, who share its blessings through the higher standard of living, it ought to be an example of what can be accomplished in the entire Middle East—socially, politically, economically, and spiritually. Collaboration between Jew and Arab could change this area into one of the most productive in the world.

VIII

Israel's Struggle for Survival

1. *Persistent Problems*

TOURISTS and trained observers, experts and laymen, friends and enemies of Zionism who have visited Israel recently have invariably expressed amazement at the remarkable achievements of the new state. Their comments range from grudging praise to extravagant panegyrics.

Despite remarkable progress, the much-acclaimed "miracle of Israel" also has its darker sides. The young nation is beset by many difficulties and problems—so grave that some Middle East authorities doubt whether Israel will be able to survive.

These difficulties are economic, political, ethnic, cultural and religious. The problems are internal and external; they are national and international. Rarely has a new nation confronted so many obstacles to its development.

2. *The Lack of Peace*

The basic problem, of course, is that of restoring peace in the Middle East. The present armed truce with constant border incidents cannot continue without ultimately flaring up into war. Israel will not be able to enjoy territorial security and to develop its resources until permanent peace with the Arabs has been attained. Israel's tremendous efforts to maintain strong military defenses are an enormous drain on the human and material resources of the

little state. Peace is equally important to the Arab states, for the basic problems of the Middle East, i.e., illiteracy, poverty and disease, cannot be solved until Jews and Arabs cooperate peacefully, or at least cease from a campaign of active hostility. Fundamentally, this bitter enmity is due to the absolute refusal of the Arabs to recognize Israel as a state, and to Israel's refusal to accept a policy of repatriation of former Palestinian Arabs.

The lack of peace affects adversely all endeavors to establish a stable, independent economy. Israel has made heroic efforts to do so. Unskilled immigrants have been trained to be productive workers, the mineral resources of the country have been developed, arid lands have been reclaimed, cities and villages have been planned, new industries have been established. Despite this, Israel still suffers from an unfavorable trade balance. In 1952-53 Israel earned only 20% of the foreign currency she expended. She is only 30% self-sufficient in food; only about 15% of her Jewish population is engaged in agriculture. The only hopeful sign is that conditions have improved from year to year and that Israel has not defaulted on its obligations.

Through the efforts of the Arab League, the economic boycott of Israel has become progressively tighter. The fact that Israel has a consuming population of only 1,718,000 in comparison with 40,000,000 in the Arab world, points up the gravity of the situation.

3. Cultural and Religious Integration

Of Israel's internal difficulties the most serious is probably that of cultural integration: it is, essentially, the task of making one people with an indigenous culture out of the different tribes from all parts of the globe. Wonders have been accomplished, but the path has not been smooth because the cultural ideals themselves have been questioned.

Israel's leaders have been unable to determine clearly and satisfactorily what role religion—that is, Judaism—is to play in the life of the people. This question involves the essential character of the state and its very foundations. Religious Jews in general and Zionists in particular think of Israel as the fulfillment of Biblical prophecies. It is the “in-gathering of the exiles,” the end of the Diaspora,

the restoration of Zion. According to Genesis, Canaan was promised "unto thy seed." Palestine is *the* land of the Jews, given them by God himself. Most believing Christians are ready to accept this point of view. However, it has been pointed out that "thy seed" would include the Arabs, since Ishmael, their reputed ancestor, was also a son of Abraham. It has been indicated, too, that the "return" was fulfilled centuries ago, when the Temple was rebuilt. No prophecy of a second return to Zion exists.

Curiously enough, the opposition to this concept comes not only from non-Jews and enemies of Zionism, but from a section of the Israelis themselves. Among the religious Jews there is an ultra-orthodox group that regards Israel as a godless creation of worldly politicians, as a materialistic state, and not as the Holy Zion foretold by the prophets. Also, it regards the secular use of Hebrew as a profanation, since the sacred tongue is to be used only in prayer and in the temple.

Because of these extreme points of view, Israel's leaders have experienced great difficulty in distinguishing the ideal of a theocracy from that of a secular state. Actually, Israel is a Jewish state. The ancient Talmudic precepts are the law of the land for all Jews, at least as far as their personal status is concerned. Only orthodox rabbis are not regarded as laymen. Christians and Moslems are permitted to maintain their own religious status. However, civil and criminal codes are based on Ottoman, Mandatory and British Common law.

The government, then, is in the difficult position of maintaining a Western democracy for its secular, non-religious (and even anti-religious) citizens, while upholding for the orthodox the essentially religious concept of Israel as the "ingathering of the exiles." The sentimental power of this ideal cannot be over-estimated; even the secular Jew is moved by it. For the religious Jews it means that Israel is the kingdom of God on earth. There seem to be many devout believers throughout the land. There are four hundred synagogues in Jerusalem alone. On the other hand, the religious parties have won only 12% of the elections for the Knesset.

There are, then, everywhere, Israelis filled with religious zeal, with an almost fanatical devotion to Zion restored. There are also those who are disillusioned, in fact, so disappointed that they want

to get out. Actually, the number who have left, fifty thousand, is small, compared with the eight hundred thousand who have immigrated in the past seven years. The emigrants are shrugged off by the convinced Zionists as failures, lacking in stamina and revealing themselves as unsuitable material for the pioneer state. In any event, one must not overlook the extreme hardships imposed on many of the new arrivals, some of whom were accustomed to the comforts of Western urban life. Rather it is astounding how many of the former city-dwellers have gone into the settlements and have devoted themselves with a positive passion to the up-building of the land. That some have been disappointed, that they have not been able to bear the rigors of toil in the blazing sun is not surprising.

4. *The Zionist Outside Israel*

More embarrassing is the position of the Zionist who has never gone to Israel and has no intention of settling there. The majority of Jews lives outside the border of Israel. Twice as many live in New York alone. This, too, is something about which ardent Zionists are extremely sensitive. Ben-Gurion entered into a hot dispute with American Zionists about this very question when, in 1951 in New York, he uncompromisingly defined a Zionist as "a person who settles in Israel." Later he said he knew not a single Zionist leader from the West who had settled in Israel since the establishment of the state. Satirically he remarked that the older Zionist problem was that of a people without a country, but now it almost seemed like a Jewish state without a people to settle it.

In answer, a number of outstanding American Zionists pointed out that they could serve Israel best here. A few admitted that "life in Israel is not for us." In any case, Ben-Gurion has made many Zionists abroad feel uncomfortable and has posed the difficult question: What should be the relationship of the Jew still in the Diaspora to the state of Israel? Various answers have been given and considerable bitterness has been engendered, especially in the United States where a not insignificant and rather disproportionately influential body of Jews continues to reject Zionism.

The question goes even deeper; it challenges the whole idea of the Jewishness of the new state. There are young, intelligent Sabras

who tend to repudiate the idea of the Diaspora and its attendant implications of Jewishness. They seek to develop a new national identity—one that will include a wider geographic and ethnic area free from the ideals of Zionism. They envision an autochthonous pre-exilic culture which would establish a larger "Land of the Euphrates." These Canaanites, as they are known, are not numerically strong, but they exert considerable influence through their magazine, "Aleph."

Extremely critical of the government, they point out that only a Jew has an automatic right to settle in the country; that no provision is made for civil marriage, divorce and burial; that orthodox Judaism has been imposed on the nation.

Indeed, most of the younger Israelis are opposed to orthodoxy and to Zionism. They believe that the ethnic-religious basis of Israel is the chief obstacle to a complete realization of Western democracy. The 175,000 Arabs, being non-Jews, are unconsciously forced into a second-class citizenship, even though they have been given voting rights. Although all citizens of the state are known as Israelis, only Jews who have a religious connection with Judaism are considered true representatives of Israel.

There are, then, two opposing movements in Israel: one to intensify Jewishness, the other to minimize it. But even those who are ardently Jewish do not all adhere to common ideals. There are two Chief Rabbis: an Ashkenazi and a Sephardi. There are the Oriental and the Occidental, two aspects which are reflected in differences of language, religious ritual and customs. There is no doubt, however, that the Oriental elements are in the minority and that Israel has definitely and consciously assumed the characteristics of Western civilization.

5. *The Arab Minority*

The most disturbing internal problem, however, is that of the Arab minority. These 175,000 non-Jews form about one-tenth of the population and include some 40,000 Christians. They have representatives in the Knesset. They are admitted to the labor unions. Special schools with Arab teachers have been provided and Arabic is employed as second national language. Only in Israel

and in Syria do Arab women have the vote and do Arab children attend kindergartens. Still there is much dissatisfaction among the Arab minority: they claim they are not treated as equals.

Identification cards of Arabs are marked with a "B." Their movements in the country are not free; permits must be secured even for short journeys. Every area in which Arabs are a majority is under military rule. Arab property has been seized for security reasons; entire villages have been destroyed. In Galilee alone there are 40,000 displaced Arabs. The attitude seems to be that no Arab can be completely trusted. Security regulations are being relaxed as rapidly as possible, say the Israelis.

Another major grievance centers about educational opportunities. The Arabs claim that their schools are the poorest, textbooks scarce, and teachers unqualified. Few Arab students attend the Hebrew University, due, possibly, to economic reasons. The answer to these complaints may be that in so young a country inequities in the schools are unavoidable. Israeli authorities insist that conscious discrimination, as the Arabs claim, is not a fact. The state does provide for them, but the Arabs oppose co-education and the full participation by women in civic affairs.

The Arabs also charge that they are not adequately represented in the government. Aside from the teachers, there are less than 200 employed in government jobs. In the Knesset of 140 members there are eight Arabs. An independent Arab party may not be formed.

Many Arabs, who would leave Israel if they could sell their property and take the proceeds with them, feel "unwanted, apprehensive and resentful." They are in an unhappy situation, for their coreligionists abroad despise them for remaining in Palestine and attempting to get along with the Jews. Many, on preaching conciliation, have been assassinated by Moslem fanatics.

That the Arab minority constitutes a grave problem cannot be denied. There is always the silent pressure of those who fled, the 300,000 Arab refugees who live chiefly in camps a short distance beyond the border. The threat of an organized fifth column within the state is a real one and has sometimes led to stringent and irritating measures.

Israeli authorities have broken the power of the exorbitant Arab landlord. The dictatorial rights of the *mukhtar*, or village headman,

have been reduced. Efforts to introduce up-to-date agricultural methods, modern hygiene and medical practice have met with stubborn opposition.

Some observers believe that even greater efforts could be made to win the confidence of the Arab minority to prove that the state wants it to stay. Among such evidences of good faith would be permitting broken Arab families—some members of whom live in camps—to be reunited. Also, some of the more unrealistic boundaries could be rectified by ceding completely Arabic areas to Jordan, such as the "little Triangle" containing 30 villages. That would provide for 20,000 or more refugees. Western Galilee, north of Haifa, which was given to the Arabs by United Nations resolutions, could be restored to them. This area could possibly support 100,000 Arabs who are now refugees in Lebanon. That part of New Jerusalem which was almost exclusively Arab might be returned without denying Israel possession of the major portion of the New City. This would take care of 30,000 Arabs. These acts might change the attitude of the Arab minority from one of resentment to one of loyalty and cooperation. It would be a major victory for Israel and for democratic procedures.

Israeli authorities point out that they have done more to raise standards than any Arab country has done. This is true and undoubtedly arouses the hostility of the Arab *effendis* who resent the extension of liberties to their exploited serfs. Israeli officials claim that the difficulties with the Arab minority, many of whom are ready to cooperate with their Jewish neighbors, would be solved, if the Arab states would relax their intransigent attitude.

6. *Israel Versus the Arab World*

Indeed, most of Israel's woes are caused by the bitter hostility of the Arab states on her borders. It is the blockade which saddles Israel with a heavy military burden, deprives her of urgently needed raw materials, complicates her relations with the rest of the world, and prevents her from establishing a sound economy.

The chasm between Jew and Arab is deep and wide, despite all attempts to bridge it. Their respective positions may be stated

Israel says:

"Our title to the land is written in the Bible. It is a God-given, holy land. The land acquired by us immediately before the establishment of Israel was bought from the Arabs at exorbitant prices. The Partition Resolution gave us legal title to larger areas. Resenting this award, the Arabs attacked us, making no secret of their intention to drive us out of Palestine into the sea. In a successful war we gained more land which we feel we have a right to hold. The boundaries of the state are obviously fantastic and must be adjusted—but not at our expense and to our loss.

"As for the refugee problem, it is not of our making. It is unfortunate that hundreds of thousands of Arabs live in camps. The Arab states, if they wished, could absorb them. It is impossible for us to re-admit them to Israel since they are our sworn enemies.

"Repeatedly we have offered to negotiate the differences, but the Arabs have refused, denying even the *de facto* existence of the state of Israel. We have worked hard and have provided a haven for hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews who suffered unspeakable tortures in Europe. We have turned the desert into a garden. Within the space of a few years we have made land arable which the Arabs, during their ownership of over a century, entirely neglected.

"We are eager to get along with the Arabs, to cooperate with them for mutual benefit. So far they have rebuffed our offers of friendship."

The Arabs say:

"The Jews are an alien element in an area which has been Arab since time immemorial. They were a small minority which caused no difficulty until the rise of political Zionism. The Zionists sought to establish a Jewish state and to crowd out the native population. They regarded the Balfour Declaration as a legal title of Palestine, although that document specifically states that the rights of the indigenous population were not to be interfered with. Furthermore, England had no right to give away land which did not belong to her. The Zionists came in as conquerors. The Partition Resolution under which Israel was created has no legal standing. Impartial observers pointed out at once that it was unrealistic and unworkable.

"The Jews established a sovereign state and drove out a native Arab population of over 800,000 who are now living as wretched refugees in squalid camps. Their farms, their homes, their property were seized without compensation by Israel. Ninety per cent of the area of the new state is legally the property of Arabs who were dispossessed.

"The Arab minority of 175,000 remaining in Israel is treated as second-class citizens. If Israel really wants peace, she must recognize the grave injustice she has done the Arabs. She must recognize the principle of repatriation and must agree to have the boundaries re-defined—with original Partition Plan boundaries assumed. Property of the Arabs must be restored and the resolutions of the United Nations governing the situation must be accepted."

The feeling on both sides is extremely bitter. How to break the deadlock is the major problem of the Middle East. It is obvious that concessions must be made on both sides, concessions which may be painful, but which will lead to a healthy *modus vivendi*.

7. Important Factors to Consider

A glance at the map of the Middle East reveals the territorial insignificance of Israel compared with the vast expanse of the Arab world. The moral and material advantages, however, have been on the side of Israel, and this has unquestionably contributed to her survival.

Despite the numerical preponderance of the Arabs, they are not united. Bitter rivalries and jealousies prevail among Arab political leaders. The governments of some Arab states are none too stable. The ruling classes fear the upheaval of the impoverished masses. So far the only concerted action they have agreed on is the economic boycott against Israel.

Their threat to fight is not to be taken too seriously. During the World War and in their skirmishes against the Israelis, the Arab contingents proved to be indifferent, undisciplined fighters, as Lawrence of Arabia had noted a generation ago. Although greatly outnumbered, the Israelis fought with a courage and a conviction which the Arabs entirely lacked.

And that idealism, that religious zeal, is the great strength of little

Israel. The Jews are building up and defending what is to them not just a given section of territory but their home, their Holy Land, their Zion for which their ancestors longed and prayed for two thousand years. They are determined to hold on to that hard-won land with fanatic zeal. The ancient zealots preferred to be killed to the last man, rather than yield to the Romans. That is Israel's great moral strength.

Her material advantages are twofold: 1) her eager application of the latest technological procedures to develop every possible resource of her small territory, and 2) financial backing from abroad. These advantages the Arabs bitterly resent. They point out that Israel is a subsidized state, and, without funds from American and European Jews, could not survive. There is truth in this, but certainly no impartial observer will deny the right of co-religionists to aid their suffering brethren, especially when it is done in an idealistic and self-sacrificing manner.

The Arabs resent the fact that the United States government was so eager to recognize Israel and to aid it. However, as has been pointed out repeatedly, our government has tried to be impartial in dealing with both sides. Indeed, Washington has been criticized severely by ardent Zionists because it has helped Arab nations and has supplied them with war materials. The reason for this is, of course, the threat of Communism. United States foreign policy has been to strengthen the smaller nations in the Middle East that are geographically close to Russia. The Arab nations have certainly not been helped with a view to injuring Israel.

Again, Israel's small size makes Arab panic seem a trifle ridiculous. The one and a half million Jews in Israel need constitute neither an economic nor a cultural threat to the hundred million people of the Arab world. Quite the contrary: the two areas complement one another and cooperation between the two peoples would be an inestimable blessing to the entire Middle East.

8. Concessions to Be Made

Suggestions for an amicable solution of the differences between Israel and the Arab states have been offered time and time again. The proposals made by outside observers are practically identical. Essentially they are as follows:

If Israel wants peace, she must:

1. accept the principle of repatriation and be ready to absorb about 100,000 Arab refugees;
2. provide compensation for the property seized;
3. remove all discriminatory measures against the Arab minority;
4. rectify the most glaring inequities along the boundaries; and
5. consider the possibility of internationalizing Jerusalem, except the buildings belonging directly to the Israeli government.

The first four propositions would probably be acceptable to many Israeli authorities. The fifth, however, is opposed by both Israeli and Jordanian Arab. Neither want the city internationalized; each wants it entirely for himself. Perhaps here the third party the Christian, might step in and point out that his claim to the Holy City has not sufficiently been taken into consideration. One of the greatest affronts to the Arabs has been the act of the Israeli government moving in to New Jerusalem with the assumption that that city is the capital of the new state. It is significant that the European powers still tacitly consider Tel Aviv the capital. The American and other foreign embassies are located in that city, not in Jerusalem. This matter of Jerusalem will be one of the most difficult issues to resolve, for both sides feel very strongly about it.

If the Arabs want peace, they, in turn, must:

1. recognize the state of Israel;
2. immediately lift their economic boycott against Israel; and
3. disband the refugee camps, absorbing the inmates in their own populations.

After the more irritating reasons for armed hostility have been removed, the two sides may be able to develop policies leading to cooperation. Soon they would have to come to an understanding on matters pertaining to irrigation and water power projects. In a spirit of cooperation much can be done that will aid not only Israel but will help to improve the condition of millions of impoverished Arabs.

One need not be excessively optimistic to cherish the belief that the above suggestions can be carried out. Dispassionate observers of the situation believe there are plenty of responsible Arabs

who do not want the destruction of Israel. There is still a considerable reservoir of good will that can be tapped.

9. *Israel's Great Opportunity*

Arnold Toynbee, the historian, points out that twice the West has moved into the East and failed. Eight centuries ago, the West entered the Middle East with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other. It was repulsed. Much later it moved in with its technological achievements, but again the East rejected it. Philosophically and religiously deeper than the West, the East seeks higher satisfactions for its spirit. "Miserable hungering millions can be fed and clothed, but more important are the claims of the human spirit. We will not barter our souls for automobiles and electric gadgets."

Here is a splendid opportunity for Israel. The Jew is a Semite; Judaism came out of the East. Hebrew and Arabic are related tongues. Isaac and Ishmael were both the sons of Abraham. Is not the Jew, with his long sojourn in the West, his contributions to Western civilization, in the best position to act as a mediator? Cannot Israel produce the synthesis of Western democracy and Oriental philosophy, of European progress and Asiatic spirituality which is so much needed in the Middle East? Zion restored could realize the words of the prophet: "Not by might, not by power but by my spirit saith the Lord." Israel could become an example and a model to the surrounding peoples; in a spirit of enlightened cooperation and compassion it could fulfill the command: "Go forth and be a blessing!"

— FINIS —

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